

Carrie Chapman Catt

*A Biography*



CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT  
Chairman, First Conference on the Cause and  
Cure of War, 1925

*Bacbrach*



Carrie Chapman Catt  
*A Biography*

By  
MARY GRAY PECK



THE H W WILSON COMPANY  
NEW YORK—NINETEEN FORTY-FOUR

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Published May 1944

Printed in the United States of America

## *Foreword*

Not many women have shown ability to arouse and lead mass movements of their fellow men, and still fewer have demonstrated their leadership over an extended period of time. Fewest of all are the women who have displayed extraordinary power to create a mass movement of their own sex and to lead it for years with ever increasing momentum. America in our own time has been rich in women of great capacity, so rich that in the twenties we fell into the habit of voting through our favorite magazine or organization which of them should be listed as the "Twelve Greatest."

Among the notable assemblage of superior women whose names were written again and again upon those lists, only two qualify as great leaders if we measure them by the test of power to inspire in immense numbers a high crusading purpose, and to direct it to a definite end for years without suffering it to slacken or grow cold. Frances Willard was such a leader, Carrie Chapman Catt was such a leader. Miss Willard died in mid-career. Mrs. Catt lived to see the Nineteenth Amendment enfranchising women written into the Constitution of the United States—an achievement to accomplish which she had devoted thirty-three years of her life and built up an organization of two million women.

Here is her laconic summary of what it took to get the vote for women in these United States:

To get that word, male, out of the Constitution, cost the women of this country fifty-two years of pauseless campaign, 56 state referendum campaigns, 480 legislative campaigns to get state suffrage amendments submitted, 47 state constitutional convention campaigns, 277 state party convention campaigns, 30 national party convention campaigns to get suffrage planks in the party platforms, 19 campaigns with 19 successive Congresses to get the federal amendment submitted, and the final ratification campaign.

Millions of dollars were raised, mostly in small sums, and spent with economic care. Hundreds of women gave the accumulated possibilities of an

entire lifetime, thousands gave years of their lives, hundreds of thousands gave constant interest and such aid as they could. It was a continuous and seemingly endless chain of activity. Young suffragists who helped forge the last links of that chain were not born when it began. Old suffragists who helped forge the first links were dead when it ended.

Those words ought to be inscribed on a bronze tablet and placed conspicuously in the national Capitol, lest the women of this country forget.

Mrs. Catt was the first international leader of the political phase of the feminist movement, visiting every continent and bringing the women of all races into a common front in the International Woman Suffrage Alliance. The fact that she fully looked the part of a great leader helped her in appealing across the barriers of race and language, firing the imagination of youth, inspiring confidence in the sound judgment of the mature. She considered the emancipation of women essential to the establishment of a peaceful world order. When at the close of the First World War the leading nations of the world enfranchised women, and the League of Nations was organized, she believed that an age of enlightenment had dawned.

She was profoundly shocked when the United States did not enter the League. She was then sixty-five years old, but she set about organizing American women for international cooperation, peace and disarmament, as she had organized them for suffrage. Eleven national women's organizations at her invitation united in the Conference on the Cause and Cure of War. The educational campaign carried on for fifteen years by these organizations played a major part in changing the mind of this nation about the "isolationist policy."

Mrs. Catt grew up in the days when the theory of evolution was conferring vast antiquity on the human race and changing all our notions about the development of social institutions. She made the theory of evolution her religion. She did not expect uninterrupted progress and she was not dismayed by recurring disaster. One recalls a glimpse of her at eighty years of age, standing in a badly lighted auditorium between Sir George Paish and Dr. Harry Gideonse, who

held candles for her to see her notes by as she hauled the audience out of the Slough of Despond into which the two economists had just plunged them. The economists were obsessed with the debacle of the first attempt at collective security. She was thinking that this failure had destined the mind of man inexorably to the sublime task of building a world system that could stand the stresses that were bound to come.

With her to live was to go forward, to act and move other people to act. The dynamic forces she set going are a living monument to her memory.

MARY GRAY PECK



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## PART I

### *Background*

*"Alexander, the son of Philip, was born the same day  
that the Temple at Ephesus was burnt"—PLUTARCH*



## 1.

### *The Ancestors*

The year 1859 was the year when John Brown made his raid on Harper's Ferry, Karl Marx published the *Treatise on Political Economy*, and Charles Darwin published *The Origin of Species*. Carrie Lane Chapman Catt was fortunate to have been born that year on the upsurge of a great expansion in human thought and change in social customs, doubly fortunate to have been born with the capacity and the eagerness to play a worthy part in that great era. She was fortunate, too, in her ancestry and early environment and training—conditions which so largely determine the course of a career.

Her forebears on both sides were of that hardy, dissenting English stock which came over to Massachusetts in the first half of the seventeenth century. According to her paternal Grandfather Lane, the Lanes might have come over in the Mayflower had there been room—which was his dry way of asserting that they were among the earliest arrivals. From Massachusetts they soon took up the westward trek, and by the time of the Revolution were living in what is now Canada.

It is at this point that we come upon the first feminist uprising in the family. Great-great-grandfather Lane was married to a spirited woman named Smith, by whom he was blessed with a numerous progeny.

Well along in their conjugal life, Great-great-grandmother Smith-Lane is reported to have taken umbrage at something her husband did or did not do, and to have left him, taking their children with her and going over into what is now Northern New York. There she had a brother who was a land surveyor, who may have advised and helped her, for she settled on a farm and lived there.

the rest of her life Tradition says her husband sent a messenger after her urging her to return, but that she not only refused the invitation, but declined to accept any help from him in supporting the family

The oldest son became the owner of a farm near Potsdam, New York, which was part of the land taken up by his strongminded mother On this farm his grandson, Lucius Lane, Carrie Lane Chapman Catt's father, was born in December, 1831, the youngest of six children, four girls and two boys, and here he grew up into a tall, freckled, blue-eyed, sandy-haired youth At the ripe age of eighteen years, while acquiring a precarious schooling during the winter term at the Potsdam Academy, he fell in love with Maria Clinton, aged sixteen Maria and Lucius were as unlike as possible Lucius was matter-of-fact, serious, with abundant energy and the thrifty ambition to get on in the world Maria was quick, socially inclined, with imagination, a fine sense of humor, and her liveliness, her delicate features, bright complexion, blue eyes and brown hair fascinated the slower, bashful Lucius

Maria's family, like the Lanes, had come over from England to Massachusetts by the middle of the seventeenth century From Massachusetts they went to Rhode Island, thence to Vermont Maria's father, Charles Clinton, born April 24, 1806, was one of a family of ten children, the fifth generation in descent from Lawrence Clinton, the ancestor who came over from England

The Clintons settled on a farm near Potsdam about 1816, which Charles eventually inherited At the age of twenty-one, he married Sally Hill, born July 3, 1806, Carrie Lane's maternal grandmother, by whom he had three children Maria, the second of the three, was born in November, 1833 Her parents were well-to-do and for those days Maria was given exceptional advantages, being sent to boarding school in Worcester, Massachusetts Lucius Lane wanted to earn money enough to marry Maria Clinton and support her in the state to which she had been accustomed It happened that the year this desire overwhelmed him was 1849, the year of the gold rush to California It also happened that he had a sister, Lucia,



eldest of the family, living in California. She had married a Congregational minister who went there as a home missionary. They had gone first to Sacramento, where they lost everything they had except their books when Sacramento burned. They saved the books by throwing them down a dry well. But their zeal rose with their misfortune, and they moved up to Yreka in the gold fields to carry on work among the miners. Sister Lucia's letters fired the imagination of her young brother. He had a friend named Clarke Foote about the same age, who was also full of the gold fever, and the two boys scraped together enough money to go West. They started by way of the Isthmus in the spring of 1850, and by the time they reached Yreka they were considerably wiser than when they set out. They found a kind welcome awaiting them, however, and after a brief rest they started up into the foothills of the majestic Shasta Range and began panning for gold.

It was a primitive and hazardous life. After they had consumed their flour, pork, beans and sugar, they had to live on an exclusive diet of fish and game. They were in the original region where gold was discovered, in January, 1848, and their labors were rewarded with a satisfactory return in the form of "dust."

At the end of three years, Lucius had had enough of gold hunting. He had accumulated \$6,000 and a supply of wheat which he had bought for a rise, and he determined to go back home with his money and get married. He left his wheat for his missionary brother-in-law to sell for him, and started back by way of Omaha across the vast plains where the buffalo and the Indian tribes were still wandering. It was a journey of several weeks, and when Lucius finally arrived again in Potsdam, he received a letter from his brother-in-law saying that wheat had gone down in Yreka and that the panic-struck missionary had sold Lucius' supply at a frightful loss. It was a blow to the young man who had been so shrewd and frugal in the management of his savings. He still had a competence left, however, and on January 9, 1855, he married Maria Clinton. Lucius had seen too much of the world to settle in Potsdam, and as their ancestors for generations had done before them, the young

couple said goodbye to their kindred and turned their faces westward. They stopped in Cleveland, a great trade center, and there Lucius set up in the coal and wood business.

But town life palled on the young man from the gold fields. Travelers by land and water arriving at the busy lake port brought news of the opening up of rich farm lands in Wisconsin. His wife's grandfather and two of her uncles had settled there, and Lucius sold his business in Cleveland and with his wife resumed the westward trek. They bought a farm near Ripon, Wisconsin, and lived in the town in a substantial house which Lucius built. The house was still serving as a residence in a good neighborhood, sixty years later, on Lane Street.

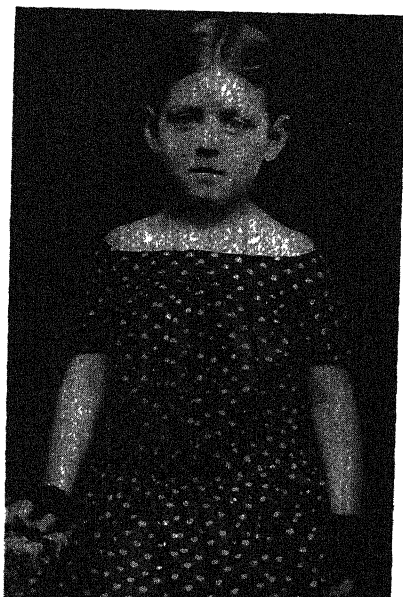
Here the first child, Charles Herbert, was born March 21, 1856. Mrs. Lane was ill for several weeks afterward, and the infant was cared for by the Irish domestic. When the young mother was able to take charge of him, she discovered that not only would the six-weeks-old infant drink milk out of a glass, but that he would drink it sour! Those were the days of one nursing bottle, and being unwilling to confess that she had broken it, the maid had induced the child to take whole cow's milk any way he could get it. Three years later, January 9, 1859, on her parents' wedding anniversary, the second child was born to Lucius and Maria Lane, and was named Carrie Clinton.



MARIA CLINTON LANE  
Carrie's Mother (1866)



LUCIUS LANE  
Carrie's Father (About 1866)





CARRIE LANE  
ON GRADUATION FROM COLLEGE  
(1880)



## 2.

### *Childhood*

Carrie was an active and precocious child and early developed a distressing habit of following her mother around, inquiring, "What shall I do next?" Mrs Lane sent her to school when she was five years old, hoping that the teacher would be able to keep her fruitfully employed. This teacher was a good one who offered prizes, and Carrie labored to excel in her eyes and shortly earned her first prize—one cent—for learning the two's best of anybody in the class.

The Lanes lived in Ripon during the years of the Civil War. At its close, there was a notable movement of settlers into the country between the Mississippi and Missouri rivers. Lucius Lane had traversed those plains and knew that the continent could offer no richer soil, so he talked his wife into going farther west. The farm in Ripon was sold, a new farm purchased in northeastern Iowa near Charles City, and in the Spring of 1866 Lucius and his ten-year-old son drove out of the Ripon dooryard with their belongings loaded into farm wagons, and turned their teams westward. Mrs Lane and Carrie were to follow by train two weeks later. To Lucius, who had crossed the Great American Desert and seen emigrants swim their cattle and prairie schooners across the Platte River while they watched against marauding Indians, it was not much of a trick to drive a good team through a well-watered state like Wisconsin, to cross the Mississippi on a ferry boat, and to drive across a third of the state of Iowa to Charles City.

When Mrs Lane and Carrie came, Lucius met them at Waverley, which was as far as the railroad had been built, and took them by wagon the last thirty miles to Charles City. Here the family lived for some months while Lucius was putting up a substantial brick

house and a barn on the new farm, and planting some Wisconsin pines and spruce and apple trees which he had brought with him. A small log house was the only building on it when he bought the place, and part of the land was still unbroken, so that Carrie's eyes looked upon that rich prairie country in its virgin state, carpeted with wild flowers in inconceivable profusion which soon were to vanish as completely as the Indian and the buffalo when the deep sod yielded to the plow. But though the Indian and the buffalo were gone, the older settlers still talked about the terrific savage, and everybody had buffalo skins in his sleigh to keep him warm in winter.

Once before it faded forever, that primeval world touched little Carrie Lane's consciousness. It was on a moonlit winter night when the Lanes, now living in the new brick house on the farm, were returning home late. Carrie was half asleep when her father suddenly reined in his team and said, "Hark!" and as the sound of the horses' feet and creaking sleigh-runners ceased, the child became intensely awake and pushed back her hood to listen. Through the vast silence of the night there came to her a far-off, lonely ululation, indescribably unhappy. "Wolves," said Lucius briefly, as if it were no more important than the cackle of hens. "Must be pretty hungry to come in as close as this," and he started the horses again. Carrie had heard a good deal about wolves from her father, when she climbed up into his lap nightly, clamoring for a "Californy story" before she went to bed. Lucius had a blood-curdling collection of them, with Indians, bears, mountain-lions and desperadoes as leading characters, and he told them with painstaking exactness. They were pretty tough bedtime stories for a little girl with a lively imagination, as Lucius was to learn.

Carrie's teacher in Ripon had come with her husband to live on a farm near the Lanes, and one spring day she invited the child to spend the day with her. Carrie was overjoyed to see her old friend again and enchanted with a present of some broken dishes which were given her to play with. As night approached, a fine rain began to fall and Mrs. Morse tried to get the child to stay all night, but

Carrie was eager to go home and show her mother the dishes. So Mrs Morse put them in a tin pail for her to carry and started her off homeward. After she had gone some distance, an animal about the size of a sheep dog stole into the road ahead of her, stopped to look at her, then slunk stealthily back into the field. Carrie's heart misgave her and she hurried along on the farther side of the road. About halfway home, there was a house set well back from the road with a lane leading to it, and in the entrance to the lane as she approached she saw a creature with bared teeth crouching. Instantly she recognized her father's description of a wolf. But as darkness was coming on she thought the animal might not have caught sight of her yet. Noiselessly she sank to the ground, crept to the opposite side of the road, and under the fence into a newly plowed field. Then, with beating heart, piece by piece without a sound she took her precious dishes out of the pail that belonged to Mrs Morse. The pail was not her's to leave behind. She then crawled on hands and knees over the muddy field in a wide detour around the deadly thing waiting in the lane, and back to the road well beyond it.

Once in the road again, she ran headlong home, tore open the door and flung herself, covered with mud, trembling and gasping for breath, into her father's arms as he sat reading his weekly paper. Astonished and alarmed at her bedraggled state and the extremity of her flight, Lucius soothed her to the point where she could tell her own wolf story, and point with pride to Mrs Morse's tin pail which had not been abandoned in the flight. The next morning, Lucius went with her to the lane where the wolf was supposed to have crouched, and convinced Carrie that she had mistaken a harrow that was tipped up against the fence for a wolf. They retrieved the dishes and Lucius surveyed ruefully the trail left by his child as she crawled around the plowed field.

The district school which the children attended was near the Lane home. The older boys were full of horse play which on one occasion took a disagreeable form of persecution. A boy picked up a harmless garter snake and brought it along to school to tease the girls with. In this he was highly successful as they ran frantic-

ally whenever he threatened them with his snake Carrie's brother Charles thought this a bright idea, and caught a snake and went after Carrie with it She ran just like the other girls, but she also did some thinking She knew the snakes were harmless or the boys would not be handling them, but she also knew that something would have to be done if life were to be bearable for the girls Early the next morning she went out and caught a snake and sought Charles She was almost upon him before he saw what she had in her hand and marked the purposeful gleam in her eye, and without hesitating he took to his heels That was a great day for Carrie! She had discovered that if you had right on your side and let the other fellow know you meant business, no matter how big and blustering he was, he was likely to run The masculine sex, after all, was human!

Mrs Lane was a careful New England mother and instructed her daughter in all the details of housekeeping, and as Carrie had an excellent appetite she was particularly interested in cooking Eggs could not be fresher than they were in the Lane family cuisine, for when Mrs Lane was ready to make a cake, she would send Carrie out to the barn to "hunt the eggs," and hunt was the exact word for it The fowls had no set abiding place and wandered far afield in search of sustenance, for nobody fed them in the summertime The hens with true maternal instinct "stole their nests" and craftily sought to accumulate eggs enough in undiscovered locations so they could "set" and bring forth young There was unremitting strife between them and Carrie on this point, she hunting their eggs and they hiding them One of their devices was to fly up onto a new strawstack and burrow into it One August day after the grain had been thrashed, Carrie climbed the strawstack and was rewarded with a painful of eggs, and decided she would slide down the side of the stack into a nice bed of loose straw at the bottom instead of using the ladder She struck the straw skilfully, but to her amazement it rose up violently under her squealing horribly, capsized her and strewed her with eggs, as it fled in all directions She had landed on top of her father's pigs which had burrowed under the straw to



get away from the flies and heat' As a healthy country child she was accustomed to these upsets, and enjoyed the excitement

Her brother Charles had a mean-dispositioned mustang pony which she was forbidden by him to ride, but which she delighted to steal away on when she went after the cows to bring them home for the evening milking The waste land along the Cedar River was used by the farmers in common for summer pasture and sometimes the cattle wandered across the river, which was greatly shrunk in dry weather On one of these occasions when they had crossed to the other side, Carrie came after them on the mustang which was in cantankerous mood and refused to ford the stream After a struggle, the animal apparently gave in and entered the water, but when they were halfway across he suddenly lay down! The child had to wade ashore with him when he arose and when she mounted him on the farther side of the river, he threw her and her foot caught in the stirrup of Charles' saddle She kept her head, however, and hung on to the bridle reins so that he could not run and managed to extricate herself from her dangerous predicament She was wondering what to do next when she heard the cows coming and saw that the neighboring farmer boys were bringing them home The boys were on horseback, and on learning of her accident, one of them set her on his horse while he took the mustang, and the cavalcade resumed its trek with the cows When she got home, with herself and Charles' saddle dripping wet, Carrie felt the weight of extreme family displeasure The boy who had lent his horse to her, went home, said nothing about the occurrence and was peacefully asleep in his bed that night, when his father filled with wrath suddenly invaded the chamber. He had just heard about the adventures of the evening and how his son had exchanged horses with Carrie The week before as he was riding his son's horse to Charles City after the mail, the animal had suddenly become unmanageable, had thrown him and nearly killed him, and he was so infuriated at his son's having placed his neighbor's child in jeopardy that he dragged him from his bed and thrashed him on the spot!

By the time she was eleven years old, Carrie had grown into an upstanding girl, tall for her age, with light brown hair, fair complexion, blue eyes, clear-cut features, resolute chin like her father's, and her mother's quick sense of humor. She read everything she could get hold of, and fortunately the boy who had been disciplined for lending her his horse at this time was attending high school in Charles City and he helped her to obtain good books. She committed yards of poetry to memory, preferably while perched in the top of a tall tree where the wind swayed her back and forth, and she was given to reciting it while at her household tasks. Mrs. Lane used to say she could tell from the poem Carrie started to declaim just how long she would be at her work. If it was *The Burial of Sir John Moore*, Carrie moved with funerary slowness, while *The Charge of the Light Brigade* hustled things along. There were no little girls in the neighborhood for her to play with, and after school was out for the summer and she was much alone, she took to reading history.

It was one of her particular delights to take the dog and her book and to wander about the farm, stopping in some favorite nook to read awhile, then shutting the book and moving on again, rehearsing aloud as she walked the heroic deeds of men and women of the past about which she was reading. One midsummer afternoon, as she was thus engaged, she was suddenly halted in her tracks by a voice speaking to her out of the air. "You, too, will be called upon to play a great part in the world," it said, "but when the time comes, you will not be ready. You do not work hard enough and you do not study hard enough!" It was a projection of her own intense inner life, of course, and like the voice on the way to Damascus it carried with it an overpowering conviction of sin. She resolved then and there to study and work for all she was worth, and so thoroughly did she assimilate the idea that after a few years the only way she could enjoy recreation was when she felt she was "accomplishing something" by it.

In December, 1870, a third child, William Harrison, was born to the Lanes, an event which brought boundless delight to Carrie, who from the first assumed a large share in the baby's care.

The churches in Charles City about this time united in a "revival of religion" which spread to the adjacent country, where meetings were held in the schoolhouses. The youngsters of the neighborhood seized the occasion to go in sleighloads to the meetings, which were of a highly emotional character. Mrs. Lane hoped that Carrie's sudden interest in the Bible portended a spiritual awakening, and she presented her daughter with a popular commentary on the sacred text which was read by the child with particular absorption. Carrie, however, was doing some parallel reading at the same time. She had been struck by the revivalist preacher's anathema against a certain "infidel" named Robert G. Ingersoll, whose teachings were contrary to "revealed religion" as unfolded by the speaker. As she had conceived a dislike for the revivalist, Carrie appealed to her high school boy friend to borrow a book by Ingersoll for her to read, and he brought her *The Mistakes of Moses*.

In the eyes of the unprejudiced adolescent, the elaborate theological commentary on the Bible went down like a pack of cards before Ingersoll's assault. Not only this, but she was seized with crusading fervor to spread the skeptic's ideas. It seemed to her dreadful that people should be believing a lot of tosh, and in her innocence she thought that if they could only hear about the mistakes of Moses they would immediately lead a better mental life. This idea was quite serious with her, and it took long thought about the matter to convince her that if Ingersoll could not convert society she herself did not stand much chance.

Then, too, other weighty matters began to demand her attention. Eighteen hundred and seventy-two was presidential election year, and a time of great excitement all over the country. General Grant was candidate for his second term with Horace Greeley running against him. There was considerable sentiment for Greeley in the West, where the farmers were mostly Republican and subscribers to the weekly edition of the *New York Tribune*, and when the famous editor decided to run against Grant as an independent candidate, many of the faithful readers of the *Tribune* supported him. Lucius Lane was one of these, and Greeley's weekly fulminations against the scandals of the Grant Administration formed the subject of

much of his discourse Carrie, now thirteen, was much moved by her father's indignation and pled to be taken with him to Greeley campaign rallies Here she heard such denunciations of the President that she became convinced that unless Grant was defeated, the country was lost A litter of kittens was born to the household cat that summer, and she named four of them for the presidential and vice-presidential candidates, bestowing upon the orneriest of the lot the name of Grant! When election day came round, and her father and the hired men put on their good clothes after breakfast preparatory to starting to town to vote, Carrie was distressed to see her mother working around as usual in her everyday dress As the wagon drew up to the door, she exclaimed, "Why, Mother, you're not going to town in that dress, are you?" "No, Daughter, I'm not going to town," replied Mrs Lane placidly "Why, Mother, aren't you going to vote for Greeley?" cried Carrie in utter consternation at her mother's indifference to the country's extremity The sudden shout of laughter that went up from brother Charles, the hired men, her father, and worst of all her mother, filled her with bewilderment, which was increased by her father's statement that "women couldn't vote, only men" Then the wagon drove off with the men still grinning Immediately she plied her mother with questions, but all she could get out of the answers was that women never *had* voted except in Sunday School and the Grange and places like that She was deeply hurt at the thought that she never was to be able to help elect good men to run the country It was the first time in her life that she had been made to feel that women were inferior to men in anything except physical strength, and it started a train of thought in her mind that rankled permanently

There was a boy about Charles' age by the name of Chet, who had paid her some attention at the parties the children attended, and one Sunday afternoon when she was alone in the house, her parents having gone out for a stroll, there came a knock at the door and when she opened it, this boy stood on the threshold She supposed he had come to see Charles and told him that her brother was outdoors somewhere. To her surprise, instead of going off to find

Charles, Chet came in and sat down, and in her effort to make conversation something was said about women not being able to vote. Up to that point the interchanges had been laborious, but when Chet remarked that of course women should not vote, Carrie's shyness departed and she demanded belligerently, why not? Chet floundered in his reply, not having given the matter much thought, and when Carrie pressed him home he became irritated and his voice rose. So did Carrie's. Finally he bethought him that men voted because when war came they had to do the fighting. Carrie immediately countered by naming over all the lame, halt and blind men of their acquaintance, and asked why they were voting since they could not fight. By this time the two were interrupting and yelling at each other so vigorously that Mrs. Lane in the distance heard the altercation and hurried back to the house to investigate. Chet lost no time in taking his departure and Mrs. Lane asked Carrie what on earth they had been quarrelling about and what kind of a way was that to treat a caller? The child told her tale stoutly, but with an uneasy suspicion that she had just entertained her first beau and had not been "lady-like" to him! That night after she had gone to bed, she overheard through the stovepipe hole in her bedroom floor a conversation between her parents in the room below. Her mother's voice was soft and gentle and she could not hear all she said, but there were occasional peals of stifled maternal laughter as she told Lucius about Carrie and her caller. Lucius listened in silence and after his wife was through he said gloomily, "Where does that girl get her outlandish notions? She'll never get married, I'm afraid!"

For about this same time Carrie had announced to the family her intention of becoming a doctor, and was now spending her leisure in collecting specimens of the brains of various animals, removing them from the skulls herself and preserving them in alcohol. The sight of the bottles quite turned Lucius' stomach. She had gotten hold of a book on natural history, and for some time cocoons had been hatching out behind the pictures on the wall and lizards and other creeping things had become familiar household companions. She came into the house one day with an air of such satisfaction that

the long-suffering Lucius inquired at once what it was that she was carrying so carefully "Rattlesnake eggs," she replied Lucius examined them "That's what they are," he said, "and there's one thing I won't stand having raised on this farm, and that is rattlesnakes!" and he forthwith cast the eggs into the kitchen stove

When Carrie pled to be allowed to go to high school her father raised no objection, thinking it might take her mind off being a doctor, and in the fall of her fourteenth year she started in, riding horseback the five miles back and forth to the high school in Charles City During the winter months, she boarded in town with old family friends, the Barneses Commenting on her high school years, long afterward, she said, "The instruction in our textbooks was so conflicting that the feeblest mind could not fail to detect it The history textbook adopted the Biblical account of the creation The textbook in geology reconciled the testimony of the rocks with Genesis by calling the days of creation geologic ages, while the textbook in physical geography paid no attention whatever to Genesis and adopted the 'nebular hypothesis' It gave the students a good deal of satisfaction and annoyed the teachers to have these discrepancies called to their attention" <sup>1</sup>

Carrie went through high school in three years and then determined to go to college Lucius meantime had bought another farm and was land poor, for a blight had struck the wheat in Iowa and disease was carrying off the hogs In addition to being hard up, he did not believe in girls going to college, and Carrie realized that she must depend on herself for a higher education One day in Centennial Year, 1876, she remarked to her father that she was going to teach school to earn money for college Lucius smiled as he informed her that teachers had to pass examinations and obtain certificates before they could teach Carrie said she had gotten a certificate That surprised Lucius, but he went on to say that it was a good deal easier for a beginner to get a certificate than to get a position With excellent instinct for a dramatic climax, Carrie at this point drew from her pocket a contract to teach in their own district

<sup>1</sup> Evolution Fifty Years Ago, *Woman Citizen*, July 11, 1925

school, beginning that fall. The salary was \$20 a month for spring and fall terms, \$28 for the winter term. Lucius was so impressed by his daughter's initiative and energy that he offered no further objection to her college career.

In the intervals of teaching, that year, Carrie wrote to many colleges for catalogs and pored over them eagerly. If she could have afforded it, she would have selected Vassar, but she finally settled upon Iowa State College at Ames. She had outgrown her ambition to become a doctor, but her interest in natural science was intensified by the controversy then raging over the theory of evolution. It was sixteen years since Huxley made his famous reply to Bishop Wilberforce at the Oxford meeting, but the echoes had at last reached Iowa and the country folk were scandalized to learn that college professors in America were teaching that men and monkeys were blood relations! Carrie read very carefully this year while she was getting ready for college *The Origin of Species* and managed to get enough out of the perusal to change her whole mental outlook. Ingersoll's rationalism became inconsequential after this dim perception of a universe so vast that time is lost in it and yet so finely organized that its humblest creatures reveal eternal law governing ceaseless change.

### 3.

### *Youth*

She entered college in the spring of 1877 as a sophomore. Iowa State College was a Land Grant institution which had been established some ten years before, and which was designed to give the youth of an agricultural state vocational as well as cultural training. There was one large main building, which housed most of the faculty and students, the library, class rooms, laboratories, dining room and kitchen. A smaller building was provided for the agriculture and engineering departments. Surrounding these modest beginnings of an excellent school was a large campus with many young trees on it.

The faculty were young men, with degrees from famous eastern colleges, and some with degrees from German universities as well. With the exception of the professor of English they were "evolutionists," and the students got evolution in some form with every course they took. Naturally, when the students went back home spouting new doctrines they aroused considerable misgiving among their elders, and nothing but being shown improved methods in agriculture served to placate the rural citizenry. When lightning struck the college and knocked off a cornice, it was referred to in several Iowa sermons as an appropriate act of God upon a nest of atheism. To the great relish of the students, a denominational school was soon after struck and burned to the ground—not that they were glad the school was destroyed, merely that they enjoyed the destruction of this particular argument. To the eighteen-year-old girl, whose hungry mind up to this time had instinctively seized every chance for expansion, without direction and without encouragement, the new environment with its free and liberal thought was literally a new world, and she eagerly took all the courses in the



sciences she could get. Most of the students were earning their way and she considered herself lucky to get a job of washing dishes at nine cents an hour. She was invited to join the Pi Beta Phi sorority and the literary society to which girls were eligible.

Her maturity of mind and distinction of appearance early singled her out for attention by the college authorities, and at the end of her first year the president sent for her and offered her the post of assistant to the librarian at ten cents an hour. She was overjoyed at the promotion from dishwashing, and the advance in salary. She loved books, their material presence as well as contents, and she developed the habit of rising early and going to the library to study before it was open to the students, walking up and down and reciting aloud what had to be memorized. The six thousand books of which the library consisted were a prodigious assemblage to her. She learned the Dewey system of classifying them and developed an extraordinary ability in reading rapidly and gleaning the main features of a book. She decided that she should restrict her reading to essentials and gave up reading for entertainment so completely that in course of time she lost altogether her love for poetry and had little appetite for fiction.

She took a leading part in extra-curricular activities. Before her time, girls could only read essays in the literary society while boys could deliver orations. She said so much about this discrimination that she was finally asked to give an oration, and did so, thus establishing the precedent of feminine equality. The boys had a debating society, and she soon saw to it that the girls formed one, likewise. But the most celebrated of her collegiate achievements was getting the authorities to permit the girls to take military drill! As a Land Grant school, Iowa State College had compulsory military training, but until Carrie came along nobody dreamed of the girls taking it. At the beginning of each academic year, the Commandant was wont to give a talk to the boys about the marvellous effects of military training in teaching them how to stand, walk, run and fall down when they were shot. There was no provision for physical training for girls, and when Carrie heard the Commandant's talk on the phys-

ical value of military exercises, she was so moved by his presentation of the subject that she went with a delegation of girls to ask the Commandant to give the girls the same drill he gave the boys<sup>1</sup>

General Geddes, an old Civil War officer, was so flattered and amused by this tribute to his persuasive oratory that he consented to drill the girls. He could not furnish them with guns or uniforms, he said with a twinkle in his eye, but there was a broom factory in Ames and he would provide broomsticks of the regulation length. The girls provided their own uniforms of blue percale, and Company G was organized—G standing for girls. Eight years later, when the Iowa Suffrage Association was meeting at Ames, the college invited the delegates to visit the campus. They went and "Captain James Rush Lincoln tendered them an exhibition drill of Company G, which is composed entirely of girls"<sup>1</sup>. In fact, Company G lasted right down to the time when the United States entered the World War, at which time it was disbanded.

Dr. Welch, president of the college, was a disciple of Herbert Spencer, and it was said of him that he made everybody read some Spencer, while students in his courses in philosophy had to read *all* Spencer<sup>1</sup>. Carrie was one of the latter, and the lethal dose of Spencer on top of three years of the natural sciences may have moved her to write her graduation essay upon the timely subject, "Science as compared with the classics or philosophy as a training for life". All her life she kept a full set of Spencer's works on her bookshelves.

She graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Science in November, 1880. It had now become her ambition to take a course in law in the University of Iowa, but in order to lessen the expense, she wished to make up the first year's work by herself and take an examination in it on entering the law school. With this in view, she obtained a position in the office of a prominent lawyer in Charles City, named Owens, under whose direction she read law in the intervals of her other duties. She had been there nearly a year, when one day in the fall of 1881 a telegram came from the President of the Board of Education in Mason City, county seat of the next

<sup>1</sup> History of Woman Suffrage, Vol. 4, page 629

county, offering her the position of principal of the high school of that town. Without stopping to speculate upon the unusualness of such an offer or her qualifications for the position, she took the first train—a freight—for Mason City.

Mr. Sanborne, chairman of the Board of Education, was out of town when she arrived, but had left word for her to see the vice-chairman. This gentleman had another candidate for the position she was seeking, and obviously thinking that a beginner had better start in on something lower than the principalship of a high school he suggested that she take the assistant principalship. Carrie declined to consider any secondary offer, and her cool decision made such an impression that after some hesitation she was given the principalship. During the interview, she gathered that Sanborne and the vice-chairman were not on good terms and that her new situation might have its complications. The salary, however, was a providential windfall and would finance her law course, and she seized the opening without hesitation.

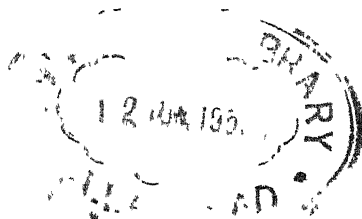
*Superintendent of Mason City Schools*

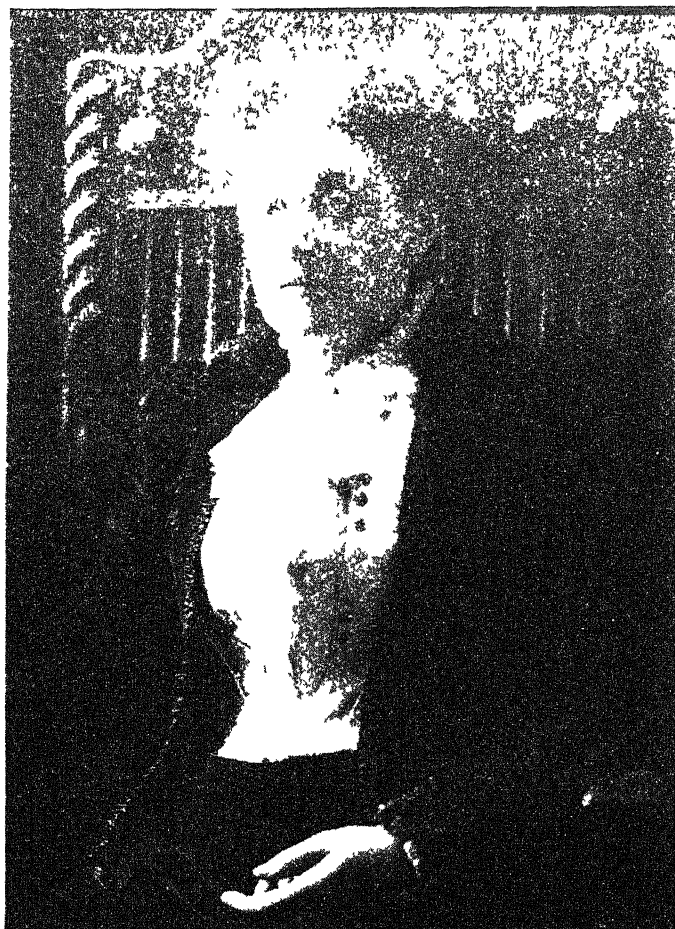
It was not until she was established as principal of the Mason City High School that Carrie met the president of the Board of Education who had offered her the position. Sanborne had little formal education, but he was a successful business man, had a sincere interest in the schools, was a good judge of human nature, and took an immediate liking to the new principal, who had her troubles during the first few weeks. The superintendent of schools, Mr. Galt, was friendly and agreeable to work with, but discipline was not his strong point and the high school reflected his attitude faithfully! Carrie's natural dignity and kindly authority soon had a beneficial effect, however, and her ability to awaken interest in her classes and secure cooperation from the other teachers did the rest. Things went on satisfactorily for a year and a half, until March, 1883, when Superintendent Galt resigned his position to go elsewhere, and suggested to Carrie that she apply for the superintendency. It was characteristic of her to seize the opportunity, and with the support of the president, she was given the vacant position by the Board of Education. It was an almost unheard-of thing for a woman to be superintendent of schools, and in this case some people felt the appointment to be particularly dubious, for discipline in the three grade schools of the city was notoriously bad. It was felt that a large and powerful man in his early prime was needed to restore order and compel obedience.

Carrie knew there was considerable skepticism of her ability to do the job she had undertaken, but she was ready for a show-down. On her first morning in office, she taught her classes in the high



LEO AND CARRIE LANE CHAPMAN  
(1885)





CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT  
Chairman of the Organization Committee, at the  
time of the first California  
campaign, 1896

school as usual, and in the afternoon she started out to make the rounds of the grade schools. In her handbag she carried a piece of tug-strap about two feet long which she had got at a harness shop, and at one end of which she had a loop stitched for a handle. In-corrigible truancy was the chief bane of two of the three grade schools, and she went first to the worst one. Arriving there, she took the names of the latest offenders, went to the study rooms and called the truants *seriatim* out into the hall, bidding each bring a chair with him. He was told to take off his coat and drape himself across the seat of the chair, whereupon she applied the strap so vigorously that it was plainly heard in the horrified silence of the study rooms, as were also the lamentations of the wrongdoer. Having received his quota, with coat and chair in his hands and the tears still wet on his face, he was propelled back into his room, and the next name called. After polishing off one school, she walked to the opposite side of the town and thrashed the truants there. All told, nine unruly boys that day became acutely acquainted with the new superintendent. When she went back to her office, she laid her strap in plain sight on the desk, symbolizing that the era of moral suasion was over.

The fame of this exploit spread over the countryside, but it was the least spectacular achievement of her regime which brought her prominence as an educator. She became in great demand as speaker at teachers' institutes and other assemblies during her vacations. At the expiration of her appointment she was reelected by the board. For the first time she was making a comfortable living and felt able to see something of the world outside of Iowa. Accordingly, during a Christmas vacation she went with her childhood friend Carrie Barnes on an excursion to New Orleans, where the Cotton Centennial Exposition was in progress. With eager eyes the two friends explored the southern seaport, so foreign with its polyglot population, its Old French Quarter, its vast levees that walled the city from the yellow flood of the Mississippi.

By this time, Carrie had abandoned the idea of studying law. In the spring of 1884, she suggested that the English classes take

turns writing weekly news items from their respective schools as an exercise in journalism, and undertook to get these published in the local newspapers, of which there were three. The first one selected was the *Mason City Republican*. This paper had recently changed hands, and the new editor-owner, Leo Chapman, was a stranger to her. When she called on him to see if the paper would publish the school news, a tall, dark-eyed, handsome and extremely courteous young man rose to meet her. He was prompt in agreeing to print the items and helpful in offering advice as to matter and form. He impressed Carrie as having a most valuable interest in educational matters, and an unusual command of the English language. He had been a reporter on the well-known *Des Moines Register*, and had just achieved his ambition to own his own paper.

Leo Chapman, like Carrie, was a native of Iowa. He was well educated, had the tastes of a man of letters, was talented and ambitious. He had been so absorbed by his work that hitherto he had had little opportunity to pay attention to his emotions, and so when this tall distinguished young woman with the full, deliberate voice, the clear-cut features and haunting smile walked in on him, he capitulated without a struggle. There was a whirlwind courtship. Two weeks later Carrie and the new editor were engaged to be married, and the career of the young woman superintendent of schools was to come to an end as suddenly as had her career as a lawyer.



## *Marriage to Leo Chapman*

At the end of the school year in 1884, Carrie resigned her position as superintendent, but went on with her work in the teachers' institutes during the summer. During the fall, she was much of the time at home with her parents on the farm. On the 12th of February, 1885, she and Leo Chapman were married there, and Mr Wright, owner and editor of the *Floyd County Advocate* in Charles City, who was at the wedding, published the following account:

*Married*—At the residence of the bride's parents, near Charles City, Iowa, on Thursday, February 12, 1885, Mr. Leo Chapman, of Mason City, and Miss Carrie C. Lane, Presiding Elder Paxton officiating.

The above ceremony united two of the most worthy young persons in Iowa. Mr. Chapman is editor of the *Mason City Republican*, and a young man of exceptionally fine personal character. He is not only a writer of good ability, but is a fine public speaker, and well known over the state for the best of qualities. The bride is one of Floyd County's fairest girls, and is as good as she is beautiful. She is the only daughter of one of the most substantial farmers in the county, and has all the graces of a good housekeeper, being a graduate of the State Agricultural College, a Normal School teacher of statewide fame, and no doubt as a scholar and intellectual lady has no superior in all Iowa. There is no one who knows her but will vote Mr. Chapman the most fortunate of young men in securing her.

The happy couple were married in the presence of a houseful of friends and neighbors of the bride, and after partaking of an elaborate wedding dinner, took the first train for Mason City where they will make their future home. Few young people start out in life with better capabilities and larger promise of success than do Mr. and Mrs. Chapman, and a wide circle of friends are earnest in their wishes that their brightest dreams may be realized. It is understood that the bride will assist her husband in the literary work on his paper, in which the *Republican* will be far better equipped for ability than most county papers.

There is something reminiscent of the American Golden Age in this arcadian blurb. When editor Wright referred to the wedding

dinner as "elaborate," he told but the simple truth Any dinner that Carrie had anything to do with then and thereafter was elaborate, and she helped her mother to get up this one

The young couple went directly to their home, an apartment over the office and printing establishment of the *Mason City Republican* Carrie entered with zeal into her duties as assistant editor, one of which was to read and comment on the "exchanges" Small town papers at that time had a good circulation in the surrounding country, and reflected the individuality of their editors The editorial page in consequence was apt to be the raciest of the paper, especially as rival county papers were prone to start a journalistic quarrel about something and carry it on without quarter to the huge delight of the subscribers As a result of this amiable device, rural journalism achieved an expertness in biting repartee peculiar to itself Carrie gleaned much heterogeneous information about things going on all over Iowa from the exchanges, enjoyed the rough give and take, the slapdash writing of country newspaper life, and developed facility in setting her own observations down on paper just before the *Mason City Republican* went to press

She also enjoyed running a home of her own She had had several years of boarding and was heartily tired of it Not long after her marriage, a bill was introduced in the Iowa legislature granting municipal suffrage to women There was no suffrage club in Mason City, and although she was sympathetic to the cause she had not come in contact with the organized suffrage movement up to this time She determined, however, to do something in support of the municipal suffrage bill, and to that end arranged a conference with a number of public spirited women and proposed to them that they should canvass the women of the city, asking them to sign a petition to the legislature to pass the bill They divided the town among them, each agreeing to canvass a certain section As her fellow canvassers were more than doubtful about their persuasive gifts, Carrie had to go with each of them and do most of the talking until they learned how To her and their amazement, less than a dozen women declined to sign the petition and of these only five were dyed-in-the-wool antifeminists.

When the petition was sent to the legislature with the accompanying announcement that all but a dozen women in Mason City were urging favorable action on the suffrage bill, the Iowa suffrage association was astounded. What had struck Mason City? They investigated, and then it was that they made the great discovery of their long and honorable career—the discovery of Carrie Lane Chapman. They expressed appreciation of the miraculous petition and they urged her to come to the state convention which was to meet in Cedar Rapids in October. This was to be the fifteenth annual convention, for suffrage was no new question in Iowa. Lucy Stone and her husband, Henry Blackwell, of Massachusetts, had gone up and down the state repeatedly advocating the cause, and in 1870 had organized the Iowa Woman Suffrage Association at Des Moines as a branch of the American Woman Suffrage Association. The Iowa society was led by a group of able and devoted women living in Des Moines. Mrs. Mary J. Coggeshall, Mrs. Martha C. Callanan, who collaborated in publishing *The Woman's Standard*; Mrs. Eliza H. Hunter; and Mrs. Margaret Campbell, the latter having come from Massachusetts where she had been a co-worker of Lucy Stone's.

When Carrie appeared at the Cedar Rapids convention, therefore, she came as a new recruit to a veteran organization. The convention met in a church, as was usual in the earlier years of the movement, and Carrie was disappointed because the auditorium was by no means filled when she entered. She approved, however, of the way the delegates all sat as far front as they could get, and of the fact that they began on time. She was not impressed with the reports as they were given. These seemed inconsequential to the young enthusiast who had conducted the canvass for the legislative petition. So many meetings held, so many dues-paying members—few enough at best, so many leaflets bought and paid for, so many new subscriptions to *The Woman's Standard* and *The Woman's Journal*, so many legislators interviewed, and so on. The delegates had come from all parts of the state and they spoke well and to the point. Nevertheless, it impressed Carrie as a dull meeting until suddenly there was great cheering as a little, dumpy, sweet-faced,

gray-haired woman in a lace cap came forward and was presented to the delegates as Lucy Stone. With her was a tall, homely, energetic man, plentifully endowed with iron gray hair and whiskers, presented as her husband, Henry Blackwell. Both of them spoke encouragingly of the work reported by the delegates which Carrie had thought so puttering.

Carrie looked with greatest curiosity at the gentle old lady and the fluent old gentleman around whom had raged nation-wide controversy when they were married because Lucy Stone insisted on keeping her own name and Henry Blackwell backed her up. That evening they spoke at the public meeting of the convention to a crowded house. Until she spoke, it was hard to visualize Lucy Stone as one who had challenged every legalized injustice to her sex and to the helpless of every description, who had dared to stand almost alone against society in the face of ridicule, persecution and bodily danger. But when she spoke, something determined and inflexible rang in the music of her voice. She spoke of the change in public opinion about woman's rights which she had witnessed in her lifetime. She spoke simply, without apparent art, but what she said was indescribably moving and urgent. Carrie's heart burned within her as she listened.

Next morning she went early to the business session of the convention and saw Mrs. Stone sitting alone in a back seat, waiting for the meeting to begin. Carrie drew up a stool and seating herself at the older woman's feet introduced herself and humbly but eagerly plied her with questions. She listened with rapt attention to the story of the grim struggle of the weak against the strong, told without self-pity in a voice whose music was so strangely at variance with the narrative. She never forgot that first meeting with Lucy Stone. Lucy Stone, on her part, went back to Boston and told her friends that she had met a young woman in Cedar Rapids who was going to be heard from by all of them some day.

Aside from meeting the Blackwells and the Iowa suffrage leaders, Carrie was not greatly impressed by the convention, and this first contact with the suffrage cause was soon lost sight of in the

press of personal affairs. The experiment of editing the *Mason City Republican* had been so successful that the Chapmans determined to undertake a larger project, and when an opportunity to dispose of the paper came his way, Mr. Chapman in the spring of 1886 sold it. He felt that there was opportunity for journalistic enterprise on the Pacific Coast, and in the summer he went there to look over the field with the intention of buying a paper if he found a favorable opening. Carrie took the occasion to visit her parents on the farm, anticipating that she might soon be separated from them. Then one day in August came a telegram from San Francisco saying that her husband was critically ill with typhoid fever in a San Francisco hospital. The day the news came, she was ill herself with one of the blinding headaches from which, like her mother and maternal grandmother before her, she suffered all her life, but she started at once for the West. Another telegram overtook her on the way telling of his death.

*The Year in San Francisco*

There was living in San Francisco at this time Carrie's favorite aunt, a widowed sister of Lucius Lane, Mrs Myra L Miller, who met Carrie on her arrival and took her home, surrounding her with affection and such comfort for the stricken heart as she could. Carrie stayed with her a couple of weeks till she had pulled herself together enough to consider what to do in this sudden and complete ruin of the life she and her young husband had mapped out for themselves. It was the third time the course of her life had been altered without warning: first, when a telegram called her out of the law office into teaching, second, when she abruptly gave up her profession to marry, and now, when that marriage reached its swift end. Something deep in her subconsciousness woke and listened. Perhaps fate was "knocking at the door."

The first necessity was that of getting something to occupy her mind, and the second, finding some means of supporting herself, for she had been left without much capital. Singularly enough, teaching, which she had so enjoyed and in which she had been eminently successful, was something she could not bear to go back to.

Her experience in the newspaper business occurred to her as a possible asset and after some prospecting she got a position on a commercial paper. Her employer treated her, as the wife of an editor-owner of a paper and a possible prospect for partner in his own journal, with respectful consideration, but the other girls in the office were overworked and wretchedly paid. In the business offices she visited she made a point of talking with the women employees and learned at first hand from them a story of systematic exploitation of women in the business world. It was before the era of women's trade unions and these girls were regarded as cheap labor.

Some of the stories they told her were tragic. She realized, too, in her own experience how women were regarded in the business world. Men tried to scrape acquaintance, sometimes jovially, sometimes with a smoothness that made her cheeks burn. She had been in San Francisco nearly a year, when one rainy evening as she was donning raincoat and rubbers to go home, her employer asked her to stop at a certain business office on her way to present a bill. The man she sought was alone in the office, made out a check in payment of the bill and asked for a receipt. As she rose from the desk where she had sat down to receipt the bill, he tried to throw his arms around her. Carrie was not a timid soul and she had been brooding for a long time on the handicaps of women forced to go out into the world to earn a living. She turned on her unlucky admirer with a rage so vitriolic that his ardor disappeared with the speed of a rabbit before a bloodhound. He hastily pulled open the door for her and was thankful to see her go downstairs to the street. Her whole being was aflame with rebellion, not at the foolish man she had left petrified in his office, but at the abominable case of women. She walked swiftly through the gathering darkness all the way home, hot tears mingling with the cold raindrops that fell unheeded on her face. Halfway up one of the San Francisco hills she came to an abrupt halt. Something had risen out of the black tempest within her and was speaking to her. "This is what you must do."

In that moment it became clear to her that her life, which before had seemed balked and meaningless in her eyes, had led straight and unerringly to this point. What had gone before was completed and done with, she was beginning a new life, the significant life for which she had been born. Henceforth she was consecrated to the aim of making women free, secure and respected in the world. A great release of spirit came to her with the revelation, for it was nothing less. Grief, doubt, anxiety for the future faded before a settled purpose and a mind at last at peace with itself.

Before she slept that night she had planned how to embark on her new enterprise. She was through with San Francisco. She would go back to Iowa where she was known and go on the lecture

platform. It was a natural decision, for the eighties were the golden age of lecturing. Perhaps there may have been a dim memory in her mind of Lucy Stone tacking up notices of her meetings in unfriendly New England towns a generation before.

It was natural that she should start with a series of talks on "Great Women of History." Why should it all be "Heroes and Hero Worship"? It was characteristic of her to begin at once writing the first lecture on Zenobia. She gave up her position on the paper and spent her last days in California with her aunt at a resort on the coast. It was a period of intense mental activity, a kind of spiritual home coming, as she took up the story of the great women whose deeds she had repeated aloud in childhood as she wandered with her dog over the Iowa countryside. Twenty years had passed, and now again she went daily by herself to a stretch of lonely beach and paced back and forth rehearsing her lectures with the thunder of the Pacific breakers in her ears.



### *The Suffrage Movement*

In August, 1887, she returned to Charles City, where she established herself in a pleasant cottage on Iowa Street and had her brother Will come to stay with her while he was attending high school. Old friends welcomed her back. Editor Wright of the *Floyd County Advocate* got her to edit his paper while he went off on a speaking tour for prohibition. Almost immediately, calls began to come in for lectures, the fee ranging from ten to twenty-five dollars, according to the magniloquence of the occasion. She discussed with a neighbor the advisability of engaging a business agent. "I am wondering whether it is better to ride a high horse that may throw me, or to keep to a mule that will carry me safe." Her account book shows that in four months she gave fourteen lectures and cleared something over \$100. On the debit side, she was paying \$10 a month for her house, \$5 75 for a ton of hard coal, 20 cents a pound for butter, 10 cents for porterhouse steak, \$1 for ten pounds of sugar, 10 cents for a soupbone. Food for the mind was considerably higher, \$10 for a library membership and \$3 75 for a magazine subscription.

The Iowa Woman Suffrage Association was quick to get in touch with her. Margaret Campbell, an officer of the organization, urged her to become state organizer, and she consented, serving without salary at considerable financial sacrifice, collecting her expenses and turning into the treasury any surplus.

Her first meeting as organizer was in the home town of the president of the association, who invited her to spend the night at her home. She was met at the train on arrival by the husband of her hostess, who told her that he had made himself personally responsible for the success of her meeting, arranging it to the last

detail. Carrie was much impressed by his enthusiasm in backing up his wife in an unpopular movement, and was relieved by his radiant satisfaction with her speech and its effect on the audience. Next morning, after he had gone to his office, she congratulated her hostess on her husband's advanced liberalism. A significant pause followed her comment, then the wife told her quietly that when Carrie's letter came asking her to arrange the meeting, she had read it at the breakfast table. She had no money of her own and had to ask her husband literally for every cent she spent. If he approved of the outlay, he gave her the exact sum required, if he did not approve, he withheld it. She, the president of the state suffrage association, did not possess even the small sum necessary for lights and janitor service for a church meeting. She passed the letter across the table to her husband, saying, "What shall I do about this?" He read it and replied cheerfully, "I'll attend to it," and had been as good as his word. His wife smiled as she recounted his labors for woman's rights the past week and his pride in his meeting. The irony of that smile on the face of the penniless wife of a feminist husband was by no means lost on the young organizer. Neither did she fail to make mental note that if the wife had been of tougher fiber in the first place, she would now be better off spiritually and financially.

When the national convention of the Association for the Advancement of Women met in Des Moines, Carrie went to it to observe the proceedings and meet the famous women there. It was her first experience at a large feminist convention and she was immensely impressed with the mental vigor and ability of the speakers, among whom were Antoinette Brown Blackwell, Mary A. Livermore and Julia Ward Howe. But the meeting disappointed even while it stimulated her. There was elation in the consciousness that a tide of awakening thought among women was setting in the direction she herself was taking, but her elation was tempered by her feeling that the thought was often confused by conflicting aims. She went home in dissatisfied mood. It was not until forty years later that the world was to learn about five-year-plans, but nature and self-disci-

pline had formed in Carrie a perfect specimen of the five-year-planner. She could not bear to see things drift. The most wretched time of her life was the interval in San Francisco when she felt herself running to waste without clear direction. She now made up her mind that the suffragists were right in restricting themselves to the one clear-cut issue of enfranchising women as the logical first objective, indispensable in clearing the way to further achievement. She dedicated herself exclusively to the accomplishment of that objective in the shortest possible time, and from then on every speech, no matter on what subject, conveyed an unequivocal argument in favor of votes for women.

Soon afterward she was elected recording secretary of the Iowa suffrage association (1887) and invented a system of pledges and enrollments which built up membership and income. She worked out a simple course of instruction in American political institutions, and had it printed for distribution. During the next two years she was increasingly successful as a public speaker and learned to do the spade work of building up an organization. It was good to be among old friends, to be near her family, to feel new possibilities opening before her, to have aligned herself with the evolutionary forces, with the stars in their courses.



PART II

*Apprenticeship*



## 1.

### *The First Defeat*

The year 1890 was an important one in the annals of American feminism, for it marked the coming together of the two wings of the suffrage movement in a united front after a schism of twenty years standing

The controversy arose at the close of the Civil War over the question of enfranchising the Negro while denying the ballot to women <sup>1</sup> All the leaders of the woman's rights movement were united in demanding that the franchise should be extended to women when it was given to the freedmen The division came over what their attitude should be when their demand was disregarded. When the Republican Party refused to give women the vote at the same time that they gave it to the Negro, Mrs Stanton and Miss Anthony, both of them abolitionists, joined with the forces opposing Negro enfranchisement Lucy Stone, Julia Ward Howe and Mrs. Livermore, also abolitionists, while deeply offended at the discrimination against women, would not oppose giving the ballot to the Negro It was an issue which involved the deepest convictions of all concerned, and their differences were irreconcilable It resulted in the formation of two suffrage associations—the *National* led by Mrs Stanton and Miss Anthony, and the *American* which included Lucy Stone, Mrs Howe, Mrs Livermore and many others of the old abolitionists. This latter organization elected Henry Ward Beecher as its first president

As years passed and age cooled the blood, the leaders realized that great harm was done the cause which was the dearest concern

<sup>1</sup> *History of Woman Suffrage*, by Susan B Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Matilda Joselyn Gage and Ida Husted Harper 6v, v 2 1880-1920, *Women's Journal* April 9, 1870 Article signed by William Lloyd Garrison, Julia Ward Howe, Mary A Livermore and Henry Blackwell, and *Woman Suffrage and Politics*, by Carrie Chapman Catt and Nettie R Shuler

of all of them by their continued estrangement. They were increasingly inclined to let by-gones be by-gones. The moving spirit of the reconciliation, which was to be officially consummated at a joint convention of the two associations in Washington, in February, 1890, was Alice Stone Blackwell, Lucy Stone's daughter. It was at this memorable convention also that Carrie Lane Chapman, the future leader who was to carry the cause to victory, made her first appearance upon the national stage.

The Iowa delegation to the convention was a strong group of women with Margaret Campbell, state president, at its head. On the way to Washington, Mrs. Campbell, trained in suffrage work by the Blackwells, instructed her delegation on the importance of the occasion, exhorting them to comport themselves with Christian forbearance in case anybody in the National Association forgot herself and shook her horns. Carrie did not understand any too well even after Mrs. Campbell's careful explanation just why the society had split, but she was all for its reunion and was thrilled with the prospect of seeing all the famous leaders assembled on the same platform.

She was scarcely less exhilarated at the prospect of seeing Congress in action, for it was a time of mounting political ferment throughout the nation, and Congress was rich in big noises if not in deep thoughts. The first Democratic President since Andrew Johnson had recently sat in the White House, and while he had been succeeded by Republican Benjamin Harrison the position of the latter was precarious. Both old parties were thoroughly worried by the Populist and Free Silver agitation in the West. Altogether it was a great time to make one's first visit to Washington.

The officers of the two associations, and all others whose expenses were paid or who could afford to do so, put up at the Riggs Hotel, where for many years Miss Anthony had had a suite put at her disposal by the proprietor. Little did Carrie dream that the time would come when a great Washington hotel would put a suite at *her* disposal! Many delegates had come early to be present at the celebration of Miss Anthony's seventieth birthday, February 15, and



to sit in the joint session of the executive committees of the two associations which went through the formalities of consolidation and election of new officers on February 17. It was not until the following day, however, that Carrie saw the delegates assembled for the opening of the convention.

This meeting was held in Metzert's Music Hall. Carrie came early and went well up front where she took a seat beside a serene old lady who glanced up at her and smiled. The hall filled, and the officers, accompanied by the speakers and distinguished guests, came onto the platform. Carrie noted that most of them had white hair, and that whatever may have been their innermost thoughts, the stiff-necked old propagandists had every appearance of being delighted to get together again. The old lady beside her noticed the young Westerner's eager interest and presently inquired, "Is thee acquainted with the leaders of our movement?" Carrie replied that she recognized one or two from resemblance to their pictures, but that the majority were unknown to her.

"Is this, then, thy first convention?" pursued her questioner. Carrie said it was, adding that she had come with the Iowa delegation. "'Thee comes from a distance!' Iowa is a good state to come from, for it has had an active suffrage organization and faithful leaders for many years."

The benign old woman was plainly interested in her companion and took pleasure in identifying for her each one in the group on the platform, telling briefly something of what they had done for the common cause. Carrie realized as she listened that she was having a most unusual experience. Her neighbor was calling up before her out of the past the age of the pioneers.

There it was personified in Elizabeth Cady Stanton, most brilliant mind of that early group, grown unwieldy with age but preserving still her commanding presence, half-mocking, half-serious, which enhanced so greatly the effect of her speeches. Before the convention opened, she had addressed committees of the House and Senate with her old vigor, and made a most diverting and daring speech at the Anthony birthday celebration.

And there, again, it was personified in Susan B. Anthony herself, straight as a lath in spite of her three score years and ten, dressed in black silk and carrying a red shawl, moving energetically among her young satellites and giving last minute directions. There was Matilda Joselyn Gage who collaborated with Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony in writing the first three volumes of the *History of Woman Suffrage*. There was Julia Ward Howe, dressed in gray and wearing a lace cap with strings, her cool and mournful brow looking as if it never could have harbored the "Battle Hymn of the Republic."

There was Henry Blackwell, representing also Lucy Stone who was kept at home by illness. Talking with him was old John Hutchinson whose white hair and beard fell with studied negligence over his collar, last of the famous Hutchinson Family Singers, and another gentleman, somewhat darker of complexion, much handsomer, with courtly manners, Robert Purvis, the only leader of the colored race who had ranged himself on the side of the women throughout the hectic struggle over the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. There was William Lloyd Garrison, son of the abolitionist. There was Mary A. Livermore, writer and lecturer, who had worked with the Sanitary Commission in the Union Army during the Civil War. There was an eagle-faced, handsome old lady with glowing dark eyes, her face framed with white curls, who looked like Harriet Beecher Stowe and acted like Queen Elizabeth, Isabella Beecher Hooker, representing the Third Estate of the human race, described by a wit as consisting of Saints, Sinners and Beechers!

Carrie saw them not only with her own eyes but as they were described by her friendly companion, tough-minded, aggressive, altruistic reformers, who had lived through persecution, war, reconstruction, internal dissension, and were now together again on the same platform, mellowed and a trifle unctuous with the years, but with what magnificent indocility in their practiced old voices!

Beside these weathered veterans who had made their presence felt and their voices heard in times when only the strongest were listened to, the younger women seemed to Carrie good enough but

not extraordinary. Foremost among them were Alice Stone Blackwell and Anna Howard Shaw. The former was just becoming known as an able controversial writer through her editorials in *The Woman's Journal*, and had been elected corresponding secretary of the united association. The latter, who was an ordained minister and an M D, was a stirring speaker who had just been made national lecturer for the association. She was Miss Anthony's particular joy and pride, short, stocky, with dark eyes and lively, expressive face. There were Laura Clay and her sister Sallie, of the Kentucky Clays. There were Lillie Devereux Blake of New York, Laura Johns of Kansas, Emmeline B. Wells of Utah, a woman of force and prominence whose husband for a time was President of the Church of Latter Day Saints, Mary Garrett Hay of Indiana, May Wright Sewell of Indianapolis, President of the Council of Women, and others.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton had been made president of the united organization and delivered her presidential address on the opening day. She was departing for England the next morning, leaving Susan B. Anthony as acting head. Mrs. Stanton, if the truth must be told, had become tired of making suffrage speeches and each year it had been harder to get her to the annual convention. Nothing less than a vitriolic ultimatum from Miss Anthony and the fact that the latter's birthday was to be celebrated had dragged her to the present one. Once there, however, she made three speeches of which the presidential address was the last. Carrie hearkened attentively to the rolling periods of the imposing old revolutionary, who was in excellent trim after her recent efforts at the Congressional hearings. "The moment we begin to fear the opinions of others," she proclaimed, "and from motives of policy are silent when we should speak, the divine floods of light and life flow no longer into our souls." It was plain to see from the rapt gaze in Miss Anthony's eyes that to her Mrs. Stanton's voice with the ring of battle in it was the finest sound on earth.

Standing in the wings of the stage waiting for Mrs. Stanton to finish was a handsome young woman who looked as Mrs. Stanton

must have looked in her youth. Carrie admired her greatly, and was pleased when Mrs. Stanton on finishing her address made the brave young creature come out onto the stage and introduced her to the convention as "my daughter, Harriot Stanton Blatch,—by marriage a citizen of England." Whether annoyed at being hailed before the audience or for some other reason, Mrs. Blatch told her hearers that America was way behind England in social legislation, labor legislation, and several other respects, she criticized Americans for their propensity to think they had abolished an evil when they passed a law against it. In England, she said, they thought it more important to enforce a law than to pass it! Then she led Mrs. Stanton from the platform and the two left for New York, where they were to sail for England.

Carrie's own maiden speech on the national stage attracted attention. She was recognized at once as a remarkable recruit to the cause. She had all the external attributes of a leader, a noble presence, a full, deliberate voice, and above all, that "gorgeous surplus called personal magnetism" which inspires enthusiasm. Nobody thought of her as a leader then, but merely as a striking young volunteer come to the help of the Lord against the mighty.

South Dakota was to hold a referendum on woman suffrage in November and men of political importance in the state were present at the convention to urge the National Suffrage Association to take charge of the campaign. The convention was fired with enthusiasm to celebrate the year of reunion with a new state victory. Anna Howard Shaw was put forward by Miss Anthony to appeal to the delegates for money, and Carrie promptly contributed the fee she had received as speaker. In addition, she pledged her services to the campaign from the first of August until election.

In June of this same eventful year, Carrie went to Seattle, Washington, and was married to George W. Catt. Since they were going to live in Seattle, it seemed much more sensible to her to go out there and be married quietly in the home of a mutual friend, than to have Mr. Catt come East for the wedding. She had known him in their college days when both were students at Ames, where he

was an honor student in the engineering school, earning his way at any job he could get. As students, separate interests and the fact that both of them were hard put to it to make both ends meet had prevented any special friendship. One day during the year of her widowhood in San Francisco, she was walking along the street when she had heard her name called, and looked around to see her old fellow student hastening towards her. He was in the employ of the San Francisco Bridge Company as chief engineer, with headquarters in the city, but was living most of the time wherever his bridges were being built throughout the West.

The acquaintance thus unexpectedly renewed soon developed into ardent courtship, but he did not find it easy to win her over to the idea of marriage. The abrupt tragedy which had cut off her first marriage, the experiences of the following years which had led her to dedicate herself to a cause to which her deepest instincts impelled her, raised a barrier between them which to most men would have been impassable. But George Catt was a determined man. More than that, he was a very able man who all his life set high aims for himself and was intelligent in pursuing them.

He appealed to her as a reasonable being and she found herself persuaded by his argument. He proposed that they form a partnership where each could accomplish better results than either could alone. He would earn the living for both of them and she would render the public service for both. Moreover, Mr. Catt was never tired of explaining that he had been an advocate of votes for women since the age of eight years when he had read an article on the subject by George William Curtis<sup>1</sup>. He convinced her finally that they had congenial tastes and interests, and that he was sincere in his offer to back her up in her chosen career. The proof of this was a written contract, drawn up before they were married, signed by them, and legally attested, wherein it was agreed that she should have two months in the spring and the same in the fall for suffrage speaking and organizing.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> "A Suffrage Team" C. C. Catt in *The Woman Citizen* September 8, 1923

It can be seen from this document that the bride was in a very different state of mind from that of the young superintendent of schools who, six years before, had fallen in love at first sight, become engaged two weeks later, and tossed overboard without a qualm a successful career as educator. Mr. Catt's agreement to the arrangement was fortified by the knowledge that he would himself be away from home the greater part of the four months in question, since his business required his presence at widely separated construction projects. As the years passed and the suffrage cause relentlessly swallowed up more and more of his wife's time and energy, while his affairs widened to national dimensions, the two of them spent an increasing portion of their existence traveling in different directions! From the point of view of those who regard the home as a place to stay in, theirs was not a perfect union, but it was certainly in its practical results a successful partnership. No contribution to the feminist movement ever exceeded that of George Catt, who during his life enabled his wife to devote her genius as a free gift to her cause, and prolonged his priceless grant after his death by leaving her financially independent.

They went to live in a new bungalow in Seattle, surrounded by a sizable lawn, and the first thing Mrs. Catt did was to set out eighty rosebushes. She often went by bicycle or horse and buggy with her husband to visit his construction camps throughout the Puget Sound country. He introduced her to the scene of great railroad building, and dock and harbor construction for ocean traffic. She heard timber, ore, lumber, fruit, cattle, money, talked about in huge amounts. She saw that her husband thought no more of starting off at a moment's notice for San Francisco or Chicago than she had thought of going twenty miles from Charles City to fill a lecture engagement. She saw him make large decisions quickly and decisively, and realized how much hung on having a big-scale plan to begin with.

She saw, too, that engineers have their sorrows. Mr. Catt was building bridges at top speed for the Great Northern Railway, and many a time as he inspected the ugly iron things she heard him say that a bridge might be as beautiful as any architectural structure,

and that he wished they would let him build them so. And even while he made George Catt build cheaply, James J. Hill had the same longing, as the stone-arch railroad bridge that spans the Mississippi on a beautiful curve at St. Anthony's Falls proves. Hill said he was going to have that bridge built to suit himself!

When August (1890) arrived, Mrs. Catt departed for South Dakota to take part in her first suffrage campaign. The situation which had seemed so favorable in January, when representatives from the state had urged the woman suffrage convention in Washington to support the campaign, during the summer had changed for the worse. Prohibition had been adopted when South Dakota was admitted to statehood the previous year, and the liquor forces were up in arms to repeal that provision. They regarded the woman suffrage amendment as a bulwark of prohibition, and as such came out against it. The People's Party, which had been so enthusiastic for the suffrage amendment in January, was now putting a third party ticket in the field, and no longer wished to support a controversial issue which might lose them votes. At the party conventions in June, the Republicans had welcomed a group of blanketed Indians to front seats, while they hustled the women out of sight, and the Democrats had applauded the entrance of a delegation of Russian immigrants who could not speak English but who wore placards which read, "Against Woman Suffrage and Susan B. Anthony." The suffrage amendment thus was left high and dry by all three political parties. Miss Anthony had been in the state since April and a few campaigners had come to help her but there was little money and the prospect was anything but encouraging.

Mrs. Catt was thirty-one years old when she arrived at the suffrage headquarters in Huron and was welcomed by Miss Anthony to her first campaign. It was in the month of August, exactly thirty years later, that she saw a disorganized, faction-ridden Tennessee Legislature give in to the last turn of the screws and ratify the Federal amendment granting votes to women, but of all the state campaigns of those thirty years the first was the worst. As soon as she got there, Miss Anthony called the campaign speakers together and told

them funds were running low and that she might not be able to pay even their expenses. She would pay for the trip back home of workers who could not afford to remain for the campaign under these untoward circumstances. Several women felt obliged to return home. Carrie said she had enlisted for the war! She was young and strong and new, and they gave her the hardest part of the state to cover, the central plain bordered on the west by the Missouri River. Her train was hardly out of sight of Huron when the sun-baked waste swallowed it up and she was cut off from the world she had known. She had never seen desolation before. A five-year drought had ruined the settlers who had taken up land during the boom of the eighties, and those who were still there were too poor to get out.

Her first stop tested her fortitude, but later on she looked back on it with envy. The station consisted of a bare platform, near which was a small grain elevator. Out of a shack labelled "Post Office" emerged a white-haired little man who caught expertly the diminutive mailbag thrown from the train. He greeted Mrs. Catt and told her he had arranged a meeting for her in the granary that evening, and that she was to be entertained in his home by his daughter who kept house for him. He was in favor of the suffrage amendment and had exhorted all who came after their mail to attend the meeting. His house was one of two in the place, and consisted of two rooms, the bedroom being divided into two sections, by a patchwork quilt hanging from the ceiling. In one the postmaster slept on a cot, the other was furnished with a hard, three-quarter bed which Mrs. Catt had to share with the daughter. As for sanitary conveniences, they were such as those enjoyed by the Children of Israel during the forty years' wandering in the wilderness.

Next morning, she took train for the next appointment. When the conductor took her ticket, he told her that nobody lived at that station, that the only building was an empty elevator. Sure enough, when she got there in mid-afternoon, she found a bare platform, the grain elevator, and nothing more. Not a house, not a tree was in sight. She sat down on her suitcase on the shady side of the



granary and waited. Never had she felt such withering heat or such silence. After a long wait, she observed a speck in the distance, creeping toward her in a cloud of dust, and presently a dilapidated man in a farm wagon, driving a team of bony horses came up to her and stopped. He said that he had been asked to take her to the place where she was to spend the night. She climbed up to the hard board seat beside him and they started back in the direction from which the driver had come. After a long and wearisome ride, they drew up at a little unpainted farmhouse with a flimsy shed beside it which served as barn. Her escort told her that nobody was at home but that she was to go into the house and wait for the family to come back from work, and drove away.

Mrs. Catt entered the house. The first floor consisted of one room, furnished with cheap kitchen chairs and table, a sink with no pump, a few battered cooking utensils, a small cookstove. She had thought she knew what hard times were back in her Iowa childhood, but never had she beheld anything so hopelessly lost as this poor little house on the Dakota plain, its door left ajar for her to enter. At sunset a wagon drove up and a gaunt woman in patched calico dress and flopping sunbonnet came in followed by several barefoot youngsters. She apologized for her absence, saying that she and the children had been out gathering what little hay there was in the ruined fields while her husband and the hired man were at work among the melons. All the crops except the melons had been burned up by the drought, and the men had to stay with the latter night and day to keep them from being stolen.

For supper that night, they had bread and watermelon and tea, the guest learned later that the tea was brought out in her honor. They had the same for breakfast, no meat, vegetables, eggs or butter had been on that table for some time. After supper, the mother and children took Mrs. Catt in the rickety farm wagon back to the station where her meeting was to be held in the elevator. Here between thirty and forty farmers with their families had assembled and were sitting on boards laid across nailkegs. There was a chair and stand for the speaker. Kerosene lanterns furnished the light.

Many of the women held babies in their arms Mrs Catt thought that to sit on a backless bench holding a baby after a long day's work was something no human being could do for long and remain well disposed toward the speaker, so she gave her chair to the woman who seemed to need it most and suggested that blankets be spread on the floor for the babies to lie on Those babies which were awake seemed used to being laid around anywhere, and were as stoical as Indian papooses The yellow lantern light outlined the uncouth figures on the benches but dimly, and reached not at all the rafters which roofed them in from the Dakota night The speaker wondered if it were possible to interest these unhappy beings in anything but their own desperate plight They listened to her quietly, and when she was through they sorted out the babies, drifted uncertainly out to their wagons and faded into the night Whether or not she had moved them, they had moved Mrs Catt deeply

The ride back to the farm was bitterly cold The family sleeping quarters were in the unpartitioned second story of the house, where four double beds took up most of the floor space In the bed nearest the door, the parents slept, in two others five children rested tumultuously, the fourth bed was occupied by the school-teacher of the district, who shared it with the guest The hired man slept in the barn when he was not watching the melons Tonight was his turn to watch, and after the family was settled for the night and the lamp "blown out," the husband came quietly in and went to bed Next morning, after a sunrise breakfast Mrs Catt was taken back to the station and left there after being told how to flag the train when it came along

Weeks of meetings in grain elevators and schoolhouses followed, with one cheerful interlude when she visited a colony of Chicago school teachers and their friends who had taken up land in a newly opened strip of Sioux Indian country They had not been there long and were enjoying their adventure hugely After some weeks of

travel and speaking, Mrs Catt wrote a cold and ruthless analysis of affairs to the state suffrage headquarters which said in part

With the exception of the work of a few women, nothing is being done We have opposed to us the most powerful political elements in the state Continuing as we are, we cannot poll 20,000 votes We are converting women to "want to vote" by the hundreds, but we are having no appreciable effect on the men Ours is a cold, lonesome little movement which will make our hearts ache, about November 5 We need some kind of a political mustard plaster to make things lively We are appealing to justice for success, when it is selfishness that governs mankind

When the weather got colder in the fall and she needed a warm dress, she bought some material from the only piece of flannel she could find in a little town where she was spending a week-end, a red and yellow stripe pattern, cut out a dress and sewed it together by hand on Sunday, put it on and went forth on Monday, "looking and feeling," she said, "like the flag of Abyssinia"

When election day came, Mrs Catt's forecast of the suffrage vote proved correct There were 22,000 votes for the amendment and 45,000 against it She had her first plain view of political corruption when she saw blocs of foreign immigrants who could not read their ballots paid for their votes as they came away from the ballot box She realized then that the campaign which had nearly killed her with its hardships had been sold out in advance She went back to Seattle, started on a trip with her husband, was taken ill in San Francisco with typhoid fever and lay critically ill for several weeks at the home of Mr McMullin, Mr Catt's business partner One great thing, however, the disastrous South Dakota campaign had accomplished It had taught Carrie Chapman Catt the things which are essential to winning a referendum at the polls—not one of which this campaign could boast She listed them as, first, endorsement by great citizens' organizations, second, endorsement by the political parties, third, an adequate campaign fund, fourth, organized and energetic campaign forces Never again did she go into a campaign with all the cards stacked against her.

Mr Catt's rapidly expanding business soon made it desirable for him to transfer his headquarters from the Far West to the Atlantic seaboard. They sold their house with the furniture in it, in the late fall of 1891, and moved to Boston where they remained during the winter, intending to settle permanently in New York the following spring.

It pleased Mrs. Catt to be in the neighborhood of the Blackwell family and she was a frequent visitor at their spacious comfortable home in Dorchester, surrounded by gardens and fruit trees, overlooking a fine prospect of Boston Harbor. Lucy Stone at this time was in frail health and had relinquished her editorial duties on *The Woman's Journal* to Alice Stone Blackwell. The *Journal* had been founded many years before by the Blackwells and supported by them with unflagging generosity ever since, Alice Stone Blackwell's literary and controversial ability giving it unrivalled distinction among feminist periodicals.

The national suffrage convention met as usual in Washington in February, and Mrs. Catt was greatly interested when Miss Anthony asked her to be one of the speakers at the suffrage hearing granted by the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives. Ever since the enfranchisement of the Negro, the national suffrage association had not failed to present to each successive Congress a demand for a Federal Amendment enfranchising women. This was to Miss Anthony the chief reason for holding their meetings in the national capital. At the hearing before the Senate, at this time, Mrs. Stanton, Lucy Stone, Isabella Beecher Hooker, and Miss Anthony were the speakers.

At the House committee hearing, Miss Anthony marshalled twenty-six women representing as many states. It was her custom to have her speakers appear in alphabetical order of their states, and on this occasion as they were entering the committee room one of the women whispered to Mrs. Catt, "Your state, Washington, is at the end of the alphabet, and there may not be any time left for you." Mrs. Catt took her seat, therefore, with a care-free mind, expecting to be a spectator at what was to her a very impressive event. Miss

Anthony, however, had decided to vary proceedings at this hearing, and to call on her speakers beginning with the state at the end of the alphabet, Washington, represented by Mrs Carrie Chapman Catt<sup>1</sup>

It struck the unprepared and uninstructed neophyte like a thunderbolt. She had expected to plan her remarks, if any, on what had gone before, but she pulled herself together, went forward to the table where the committee were sitting and made what she hoped was a passable introduction, with a quotation from Herbert Spencer that the rights of women were the same as the rights of men. Then she went back to her place and watched the House Committee members during the remainder of the hearing. The majority of them were Southerners, who took scant interest in the suffrage delegation, paid some attention to Mrs Lide Meriwether of Tennessee whose wit would have convulsed a tombstone, but for the rest just sat through it. As she observed the indifference of Congress in the person of its Representatives, the undertaking to amend the Constitution of the United States unrolled before her in all its vastness. The forces pledged to that undertaking, symbolized by Susan B Anthony and her following, had not been deployed to best advantage. Doubtless Miss Anthony knew that "though they had the tongues of men and of angels," the suffragists could not make a dent on the committee, and so had not wasted time on preliminary rehearsal. But this was not the way a Congressional hearing should go, the young suffragist thought, and in after years her co-workers were to groan at the definiteness and preparedness of her plans.

At this convention, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, now seventy-six years old, retired as head of the national suffrage association, and was succeeded by Susan B Anthony, now in her seventy-third year. Lucy Stone, seventy-four, retired as vice president. It was the last convention which Mrs Stanton and Mrs Stone attended, although Mrs Stanton sent a written address to each succeeding meeting for some years, read from the platform by Miss Anthony. It was characteristic that Mrs Stanton's last appearance in person should start a heated discussion when she offered a resolution that the approach-

ing World's Fair in Chicago should remain open on Sundays! Having stirred the convention up sufficiently, she withdrew her motion on the ground that she had introduced it solely for the purpose of discussion!

In the spring of 1892, Mr Catt opened business headquarters in the New York World Building, whose famous golden dome was a land mark. As Brooklyn was conveniently accessible, he and his wife decided to make their home there, in Bensonhurst, a suburban section by the sea. Here they built a spacious and comfortable house containing all the latest improvements, with enough land around it to provide for fruit and vegetable gardens, shade trees, lawn and wide flower borders. Like the house itself, nearly everything inside it was new except their books, which they clung to tenaciously and continually added to.

The bell rang one day soon after their arrival in Brooklyn and a caller was announced. As Mrs Catt went to meet the visitor, she thought her the most beautiful woman she ever had seen, not only because of her lovely face, but because of the serenity and graciousness of manner with which she welcomed the young Westerner who had come as a stranger to the city. She introduced herself as Mrs Mariana Chapman, president of the Woman Suffrage Society in Brooklyn, and the two women took a warm liking to each other from the start. Mrs Chapman's social and family connections—both she and her husband belonged to prominent Quaker families—gave her a familiarity with the background of the woman's rights movement in the metropolitan district which was of the greatest value in introducing Mrs Catt to her new environment. It was from Mariana Chapman that Mrs Catt learned of the differences and vicissitudes of the early years, and how the movement in Brooklyn was nearly wrecked by the repercussions of the Beecher-Tilton lawsuit, how it had pulled through and was now looking up again. It was plain to see that Mariana Chapman's influence must have had much to do with the revival of interest.

The frequent changes in her environment had by no means destroyed Mrs Catt's relations with the Iowa suffragists, and she went

back to her old home state that summer for a month of stiff organizing work. At its close, it was decided to call a Mississippi Valley Conference at Des Moines. It speaks for her inexperience that it never occurred to her to consult Miss Anthony as president of the National Suffrage Association before undertaking anything so ambitious. The first Miss Anthony heard about it was when she received an invitation to attend.<sup>1</sup> Considerably astonished, Susan nevertheless accepted the invitation, and when she reached Des Moines found the Blackwells and all the members of her official board assembled there, and all of them lined up on the program for one thing or another. Nor was the meeting devoid of unusual features, one of which was a religious service on Sunday afternoon, at which three babies were baptized. The mothers sat on the platform with their babies in their laps, the Reverend Ida Hultin conducted the service, the Reverend Olympia Brown christened the infants, while the husbands and fathers probably were keeping the home fires burning.<sup>1</sup>

It was Mrs. Catt's first venture at swinging a large conference, and she seized the opportunity to present a "Plan of Work" which she had originated and tried out as organizer in Iowa. It did not escape Miss Anthony as she listened that a constructive genius of the first order was at work. Here was magnetism, attracting young workers, creating enthusiasm, above all raising money. The old leader had been the main money-raiser and debt-payer for so many years that she could hardly credit that was happening. Having grasped its significance, she then and there asked Mrs. Catt to take the position of Finance Chairman in the national suffrage association, which brought her into direct relation with the national officers

## *The First Victory—Colorado, 1893*

The last decade of the nineteenth century witnessed a quickening interest in feminism, noticeable particularly in the higher brackets. There was great argument in Europe over admitting women to the universities and professions. The Royal Geographic Society of Great Britain opened its august portals to them as Fellows. In this country, the new University of Chicago admitted them as students. Women appeared for the first time as alternate delegates to a national Republican convention. The Populist Party nominated them to office and sent them out as campaign speakers. The West had always been more liberal in its attitude toward women than the East, but when Mrs. Catt came East to live she met a new type of "woman's righter" which intrigued her immensely—the rich, independent, assertive old maid whose ancestors helped found the thirteen colonies. These commanding and generally public spirited women forced the communities where they lived to treat the woman suffrage movement with respect because they were espousing it. Many of them were second generation suffragists and they exercised an influence out of all proportion to their numbers.

The greatest single impulse to the cause came when this country was most ready to respond to it, in the form of the Columbian Exposition of 1893 in Chicago. The patron saint of the exposition was Queen Isabella of Spain who had pawned her jewels to finance Columbus' voyage of discovery, and in accord with the romantic tradition, the Spanish Government sent the Infanta Eulalia as their official envoy to the exposition. In view of this feminist background, it was natural that a demand should arise that women be officially recognized in the conduct of the fair, and the management of the exposition appointed a Board of Lady Managers, headed by Mrs. Potter Palmer.



The energy and efficiency with which the Lady Managers set to work was a distinct surprise to the gentlemen who appointed them. They expressed disappointment because the fair was not held in 1892 as it should have been. There was no dawdling on their part. They sent May Wright Sewell to Europe to secure the cooperation of distinguished women there. They featured national women's organizations in this country on the exposition program. They appointed a working committee in every state to stir up interest in woman's part in the undertaking. One of the most popular features of the fair was a series of congresses which met throughout the summer. The opening congress was assigned to the Lady Managers to arrange, probably because it came at the worst time on the program. The women accepted the assignment and put in a year of hard work, advertizing it as the Congress of Representative Women. May Wright Sewell was chairman and Rachel Foster Avery secretary of the congress.

A few days before the fair was to open, Mrs. Catt received a telegram from Mrs. Avery saying that the chairman of the Committee on Civil Law and Government of the congress had dropped out, and imploring Mrs. Catt to come at once to Chicago to take her place. Willing to help in an emergency and supposing that her duties were well organized, Mrs. Catt went. When she arrived in Chicago, she found Mrs. Sewell and Mrs. Avery distraught because nothing whatever in the way of a program had been prepared by the Committee on Civil Law and Government<sup>1</sup>. Moreover, the Art Building where the meetings were to be held was unfinished and was filled daily with an army of workmen. There were two great halls on the ground floor of the Art Building, the Hall of Columbus and the Hall of Washington, where the full congress meetings were to be held, while section meetings were assigned to smaller rooms on the second floor.

The opening day came, and the first meeting of the congress assembled in one of the large halls at ten o'clock in the morning with a surprisingly large audience in attendance. The fact that noted women from all over the world were to be present had struck the popular fancy. Masons and carpenters had disappeared, leaving

plaster and chips on the floor behind them. As the Lady Managers and the foreign guests, arrayed in platform gowns which swept the floor, made their entrance and advanced to the rostrum, they raised a cloud of dust and swept the debris along with them. After preliminary exercises, Susan B. Anthony was presented as the first speaker of the congress, and was followed by Dr. Marie Popelin of Belgium, the Countess of Aberdeen and Lucy Stone. That afternoon, a large reception was held in the Hall of Columbus, while the chairman of the various sections of the congress held informal meetings in their committee rooms on the second floor with people who were interested in their subjects. Mrs. Catt had announced as her subject, "Reform in government by giving the vote to women." Among the people who came to her meeting was Mrs. Ormiston Chant of England, and Mrs. Catt invited her to speak. People continued to come upstairs from the reception, and as they drifted past the open door, they looked in, saw a woman speaking and some chairs to sit down on, and came in till the room was filled. Mrs. Catt had to improvise her program from day to day and in closing this meeting she announced that on the following day, her section would be addressed by Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucy Stone.

In due time next day she repaired to the Art Building for her second meeting and was mounting the stairs to her committee room, when she was met by a mob of people coming down under the guidance of Rachel Foster Avery.

"Where are you taking all these folks?" she inquired. "This is your meeting, my friend," replied Mrs. Avery. "We are going downstairs to the Hall of Columbus which is the only place big enough to hold them." And it was in the Hall of Columbus that Mrs. Catt held the rest of her meetings that week.

Judging by the size of the audiences, the Congress of Representative Women attracted more notice than any of the later congresses with the exception of the Congress of Religions. The fact that the first congress of the fair was a woman's congress put the woman's rights question on the front page of every newspaper in the land.

The Board of Lady Managers were much uplifted by its success, and Miss Anthony was so enthusiastic that she stayed in Chicago for the duration of the exposition. Lucy Stone who was in extremely bad health returned to Boston at the conclusion of the congress. This was the last time Mrs. Catt saw Lucy Stone.

One day during the congress, a quiet-spoken young woman journalist from Denver, Ellis Meredith by name, came to see Mrs. Catt. She had come to the congress, she said, in order to meet the officers of the suffrage association and secure their help in the campaign for the vote which Colorado women had determined to make that summer. She was disappointed to learn from the national officers that they were already committed to campaigns in New York and Kansas which would engage all their resources. Miss Anthony had not forgotten the Colorado campaign of 1877, and asked if all the "greasers" had been converted, as that was the only hope for the state! At the end of the interview, she held out a faint hope that perhaps Mrs. Catt might give a helping hand.

Ellis Meredith drew a clear picture of the favorable political situation in Colorado. There would be no state election that fall and therefore the political machines would not be active, the legislature had enfranchised women, subject to ratification by a special referendum to the voters; the depression had brought the Populists into power and that party endorsed votes for women; so far there was no active opposition to the question. Mrs. Catt listened attentively, appreciated the sound judgment of the women who recognized a heaven-sent opportunity when they saw one, and without hesitation promised to go. A sudden illumination came over Mrs. Meredith's face. "I can't tell you what this means to us!" she said. "I was afraid I was going back empty handed. Now I know we are going to win!" They had a long talk about what had been done and the women who had done it—Mrs. Louise Tyler, who had learned how to organize in Massachusetts with the Blackwells; Minnie J. Reynolds, reporter on *The Rocky Mountain News*, who had lobbied the bill through the legislature, her sister, Helen Reynolds,

Dora Phelps Buell and others Ellis Meredith herself was vice chairman of the campaign committee

Mrs Catt paid a second and less hectic visit to the Columbian Exposition in company with her husband later in the summer, and from Chicago went on west for the campaign in Colorado

She arrived in Denver on Labor Day and addressed a huge mass meeting In consultation with the campaign committee she laid out a program which was to carry the question to the voters of every county in the state Her own assignment would take her to the larger towns and mining centers, and to most of the party conventions It was grilling work, as hard as the South Dakota campaign, but this time there was hope in it although the depression which had hung over South Dakota in 1890, now was paralyzing Colorado The campaign was to be carried on quietly and so successful were the workers in this respect that it was not till the end of the campaign that the liquor interests woke up and tried to steal the election by having the suffrage question faultily worded on the ballot—a device which the watchful women frustrated

Mrs Catt made her first speech at a watermelon festival at Rocky Ford, where all comers were given all the watermelon they could eat and carry away with them at one time from mountainous heaps on the ground. The sight of a Negro trying to lug off four huge melons, encouraged by the hilarious comments of the owners, took her mind back to South Dakota where the hungry farmers kept guard over their melon fields gun in hand

One bleak and rainy day, she arrived at the mining center of Ouray, and learned that miners from all the surrounding region, most of them out of work, were coming to her meeting that night and probably would have had several drinks on the way. She went to the meeting with considerable trepidation, for this was a new kind of audience and she doubted her ability to interest them. The room was filled when she entered, her hostess being the only other woman present The fumes in the air proclaimed that the saloons had been duly patronized. As she looked over the audience from the platform, she saw some faces of refinement and intelligence She knew

well enough that they belonged to men of education—adventurers who had lost their fortunes elsewhere, boys who like her own father had come prospecting on a shoestring, business and professional men trying to regain their health or their mental balance by hard physical labor. There was something indescribably moving about the whole assemblage, the just and the unjust, and before she had proceeded far she lost her nervousness realizing that she had established contact with them. After that she liked miners' meetings.

To her surprise, she liked the political conventions, too. On one occasion, at the close of a speech, a giant came up to shake hands with her. "Lady," said he in a rich brogue, "I'm what they call a bad man. I drink as much as I can get. I've been in jail for one thing and another, and there's nothing respectable at all about me. But I had a good old mother back in Ireland, and what you said has made me think of her. Sure the good women ought to vote to balance off the likes of me, and I'm going to talk for woman suffrage from this time till election day, and it's a bold man that will open his mouth against it in my presence!" Whether it was owing to the efforts of the unrepentant sinner or not, his town voted for suffrage in November.

At Durango, a town in the foothills of the continental divide she had two meetings scheduled, with a day between on which she had a meeting in Silverton. She held her first meeting in Durango, made the trip to Silverton and spent the night there. In the morning she learned that a bad wreck halfway down the line had blocked the road to Durango. Now she not only had to speak in Durango that night, but must take a four o'clock train the following morning to get to her next appointment. While she was talking with the station agent about the possibility of getting through, a bystander strolled up, introduced himself as president of the shortest railroad in the country, running from Silverton up to Ouray, and said that there was a pushcar on his track which could be transferred to the Durango line, and which, if anybody was found to run it, could roll down as far as the wreck with her. Once that far, she could get a

ride the rest of the way on the wrecking train after the road was cleared!

Mrs Catt eagerly accepted the offer of the "pushcar," and while they were searching for somebody to run it, she went off to get some sandwiches for her lunch. On her return to the station, the pushcar was waiting—a rough platform on wheels which ran downhill by gravity and had to be pushed uphill! The only check upon the law of gravity on a down grade was a board which could be thrust through a hole in the floor hard against the wheels. A man who had lost one arm had been found to act as charioteer. Mrs Catt viewed this vehicle with acute misgiving, but it was too late to back out and she took her place on the front of the platform with her feet hanging over the edge and resting on a rope stretched for a foot-brace below.

The man climbed up behind her with his board and the ticket agent and the railroad president started the car down grade. As they gathered headway, the wind began to tear at her hat and she took it off. A mile down the road they took a curve at high speed and the bag of sandwiches sailed off into the void. From then on, the helpless passenger clutched her hat to her breast with one hand and clung to the car with the other as they careened past crag and torrent with the scream of the wheels on the rails marking their progress around sharp turns. At intervals they swept past sidings used for turn-outs on the single track, but her charioteer took them at full speed as one who carried Caesar and his fortunes. At length, after several miles of mad descent, the screech of the board-brake and the smell of scorching wood announced that they were slowing down, and they came to a stop where a gang of men were working at the wreck. Here Mrs Catt learned that the wrecking train would not return to Durango till late afternoon.

As a matter of fact, she did not reach her destination till nine o'clock that night. She hastened from the station to the courthouse, without any opportunity to adjust her toilet, stepped onto the platform and made her speech to an audience which had been awaiting her for some time. She had had nothing to eat since breakfast, and

when she reached the house where she was to spend the night, her compassionate hostess cooked a beefsteak supper for her, and put her to bed for a couple of hours' sleep before she was routed out again to take the four o'clock morning train

One day a request for a speaker, signed by a woman who was unknown to the campaign committee, came from a town of considerable importance, and Mrs Catt went there in response. She was met by a bizarre figure in men's boots, short skirt and cowboy hat, who proved to be a large ranch owner, a firm advocate of women's rights and an equally ardent spiritualist. She took her guest home, made her comfortable, told her she saw the spirit of Lucretia Mott standing behind her with hands raised in blessing—"That's good," commented Mrs Catt—and later they went together to the meeting. The preliminary arrangements had been excellent and the meeting drew a full house, but it was an unenthusiastic audience. Mrs Catt's hostess, still arrayed in the garb which in those days was only seen in a Buffalo Bill show, conducted the speaker to the platform and introduced her amid stony silence. Mrs Catt did her best to win her audience, and at the conclusion hastened to the door determined to shake hands with them as they departed. But her hostess hastened with her, and while a few persons paused to greet the speaker, the majority passed by on the other side. Mrs Catt left town convinced that she knew one place that would vote solidly against woman suffrage. When the election returns came in, she looked with curiosity to see if any brands had been plucked from the burning in this hostile spot and was amazed to see that the town had carried!

On October 18, news came that Lucy Stone had died, and Mrs Catt was recalled to Denver to speak at a memorial meeting. Only a few days before, she had received the last check signed by Mrs Stone, a gift of \$100 to the Colorado campaign. Election came and woman suffrage carried by more than 6000 votes. In view of the difficulties in reaching a sparse population on the plains and in inaccessible mountain regions, it is interesting to note the expense account rendered by the campaign committee. The total was \$1900!

In their statements to the press, the Colorado Campaign Committee attributed the larger share of the victory to the energy, magnetism and generalship of Carrie Chapman Catt

Mrs Catt herself felt that the victory was partly due to the fact that many miners and stock men came into the state from Wyoming where women had long been voters. The idea was neither new nor revolutionary in Colorado.

Hard on the heels of the Colorado victory, two more major suffrage campaigns were launched—the New York Constitutional Convention campaign and the Kansas campaign of 1894, in both of which Mrs Catt took notable part. Although a petition asking for submission of a woman suffrage amendment, signed by 600,000 New York State citizens, was presented to the Constitutional Convention which met that year, the convention refused to submit it. Joseph H. Choate and Elihu Root, two dominant figures at the convention, were opponents of the movement and Mr Root in speaking against the amendment said he would “hesitate to put into the hands of women the right to defend his wife and the women he loved and respected.” Mr. Root never got over the notion that the franchise was indissolubly linked to carrying a gun. Mrs Catt made forty speeches in the metropolitan district as her contribution to the New York Constitutional Convention campaign, and then went out to Kansas in May with Miss Anthony and Anna Howard Shaw, to spend the summer working for the Kansas referendum campaign.

Mrs Laura Johns, chairman of the Kansas Campaign Committee was an able and devoted leader, with both energy and experience. She also was head of the Republican Women's Association of the state. Annie L. Diggs, vice chairman, was equally prominent in the Populist Party, and was a famous stump speaker. Her small person housed a tremendous voice which carried to the uttermost circle of any audience, outdoors or in, while her radical ideas and her rich sense of humor endeared her to the embattled farmers. It was hoped that these two women would be able to facilitate the adoption of suffrage planks in the platforms of the two dominant parties, and so they would in ordinary times. But the Populists were threat-



ening to wrest control of the state from the Republicans, and the latter were making a desperate effort to retain it. Neither party wished to endorse any question likely to lose them votes. With one accord they pled with Mrs. Johns and Mrs. Diggs and their cohorts not to press for suffrage planks. Miss Anthony, Miss Shaw and Mrs. Catt went to both party conventions with the Kansas suffragists. The Republicans refused to mention suffrage in their platform. The Populists had a turbulent four-hour debate over the resolution. Finally the vote was taken and the suffrage plank went into the Populist platform, but with a rider to the effect that it was not to be regarded as a test of party fealty!

When Mrs. Catt spoke at Topeka, Mrs. Johns wrote to *The Woman's Journal*

The largest auditorium in the city was packed both nights, many men stood for three hours and many others failed to get in. Mrs. Catt was new to Topeka and spoke at a late hour at the end of a long program, but she captured her hearers as she always does everywhere, and I was besieged to arrange an overflow meeting for her the following night. It is suggested that I arrange for her to address voters only, as they are being crowded out by the many women who attend these meetings.

There was tremendous interest in the Kansas struggle. Women already had school suffrage in the state, and the strength of the Populist movement and the proximity to Wyoming and Colorado afforded ground for optimism. More money and trained campaigners were engaged than in all the previous suffrage campaigns put together. Mrs. Catt herself spoke in all but two of the hundred and five counties.

It was not easy to make connections in the sparsely settled western part of the state, and one journey she made there is typical. She was scheduled to speak at a county seat which was many miles from a railroad, and on reaching the station where she was to take the stage to her destination, she found it was not running. She went to a livery stable, but the fee was so high for a driver that she could not afford it, so she offered to drive the team herself, keep it overnight where she was to speak, and bring it back the next day. The

proprietor hesitated, naturally being concerned about getting his horses back safely, but finally he consented and went into a minute description of the route she was to follow. The roads followed town and section lines, checkerboard fashion, and if she made the turns correctly she would land at the place she was seeking, but if she took a wrong turn, she had better let the horses bring her back to the stable!

That four-hour ride was something to remember, zig-zagging west and north across a rolling plain where cattle were the only visible living creatures, where she did not meet a human being and the roads were so untravelled that they were hard to discern in the tall prairie grass which swished against the wheels with a sound like running water. Toward the last, when she was beginning to think she might have to "let the horses bring her back to the stable," they breasted a long ascent from whose crest she looked down upon the town she was seeking. The women who were expecting her were filled with consternation at her achievement. No stranger, they said, much less a woman, should undertake to navigate western Kansas by dead reckoning! They certainly would not try it, and they lived there!

Had woman suffrage been an isolated issue, as in the Colorado campaign, the amendment probably would have carried in Kansas at this time. But it was caught in a mesh of political rivalries and the eternal wet and dry fight. In spite of an able and vigorous campaign, the women went down to a defeat which Mrs. Catt ever regarded as the bitterest in the whole history of the movement, for they were sold out by their friends for a wholly imaginary political advantage.

The group of vigorous young women now surrounding Susan B. Anthony wanted new and expanded methods, and among the changes they advocated was to hold the national suffrage convention every other year in some city other than Washington. Miss Anthony opposed this idea strongly. She thought Washington was the proper place for the convention to meet and petition Congress annually, but the pressure of her "cabinet," as she called her young

aides, finally overcame her reluctance, and she agreed to have the convention meet in Atlanta, in February, 1895. It was bad enough, she thought, for them to choose a southern city, but to complete her dissatisfaction they then importuned her to make a tour of the South in the weeks preceding the convention to stir up interest and support for it. She believed her record as an abolitionist would make her thoroughly unwelcome in the South, and besides she was seventy-five years old and tired out by the New York and Kansas campaigns. When they continued to press it, and she was assured that Mrs. Catt would accompany her and assume all responsibility for travelling arrangements, the old leader very reluctantly consented to go.

The two set out the second week in January on an itinerary which was to end in Atlanta, a month later. The trip was to be financed out of Miss Anthony's fee of \$10 per lecture, when a fee was agreed upon, or a collection when it was not. They were to be entertained in private homes to save hotel bills, and altogether the prospect looked dark to poor Miss Anthony. Mrs. Catt on her part felt the responsibility of making the hard journey as easy as possible for the aging leader, but she was filled with zeal at the prospect of building up an organization in a region where little had been done hitherto.

They toured five states of the Deep South in the four weeks, and the intimate association with Susan B. Anthony during that time made a lasting impression. Although their experiences were often uncomfortable and exhausting, Miss Anthony never complained. She was punctual to every appointment, and only once did she fail to keep an engagement. This was at a meeting in the State Capitol in Jackson, Mississippi. The two women had separated so that Mrs. Catt might get in an extra meeting, and they were to come together again at Jackson. Mrs. Catt arrived according to schedule, but Miss Anthony was delayed by floods so that she arrived an hour late for the meeting. She was met at the station by an eager suffragist who told her that Mrs. Catt was holding a distinguished audience for her at the Capitol, whereupon the old lady turned around and

climbed back onto the train. She was "too oozed out to address the flower of southern chivalry, that night," she declared, and went on to Birmingham!

The arrangement was that Miss Anthony should speak first at the meetings for as long a time as she wished, and Mrs. Catt should fill the time that was left. If she could have a cup of strong coffee at supper, Miss Anthony was good for a thirty-minute speech, but sometimes they were entertained by diet cranks who did not serve coffee, in which case Miss Anthony's speech would last about five minutes. One night she got off to a particularly bad start and Mrs. Catt was expecting her to stop, when suddenly words began to flow and she spoke for an hour, point following point without hesitation. The young lieutenant, who never had heard her chief speak except extemporaneously could scarcely credit her ears. That night after they had retired to their room—when they were entertained in the same home they often had to occupy the same room and only too often the same bed—she congratulated Miss Anthony warmly on her remarkable address. The old leader replied, "That is a speech I gave on a lecture trip thirty years ago and haven't thought of since. It was called 'Bread and the Ballot.' How I got started on it to-night, I don't know. Probably it's the way people recall their past lives when they are drowning!" As she listened, the thought came to Mrs. Catt that she had been privileged to hear what Susan B. Anthony was like in her prime.

Miss Anthony's apprehension that she would be unwelcome in the South proved quite unfounded. She was received everywhere with the greatest respect by the whites, while the colored population adored her. Some of the ablest and most brilliant advocates of votes for women lived south of Mason and Dixon's line, women of famous families such as the Clays and the Breckinridges of Kentucky, the Meriwethers of Tennessee and Merricks of Louisiana. Mrs. Catt appreciated fully the privilege of visiting these women in company with Susan B. Anthony.

Memphis gave them a great reception, urged on by Mrs. Lide Meriwether, and while there Miss Anthony and Mrs. Catt spoke to

a large audience of colored people. It was on a Sunday, and they were invited to address the united congregations of the Negro churches of the city, who were particularly desirous of hearing Susan B. Anthony because of her anti-slavery record. Mrs. Catt had had little contact with colored folk and was somewhat at a loss how to speak to them in a region where the race question complicated the suffrage issue. After Miss Anthony had made a short speech, however, she followed with a straight talk on the Ten Commandments leading up to the point that a race could rise only in proportion to its ability to discipline itself and keep its mind on a high aim. She was encouraged by frequent ejaculations of approval from all sides. The pastor followed by calling on all those who had formerly lived in a state of indulgence but who were now disciplining themselves, to rise, they all stood up. He then inquired into their use of liquor and tobacco, and Mrs. Catt was deeply impressed with the fact that none of them drank, smoked or chewed. On the way home, she congratulated the friends who had accompanied her to the meeting on the exceptional character of the colored citizens of Memphis and inquired what was the reason for it. "They lied!" was the laconic reply.

Throughout the tour, she pushed indefatigably toward leaving a working organization behind them in every place they visited, and securing delegates for the approaching suffrage convention in Atlanta, and, when their last meeting had been held in Huntsville, Alabama, and the two pilgrims entrained for Atlanta, she felt assured that the South would be well represented there.

The Atlanta convention marked a new departure. Early in the session, Miss Anthony appointed Mrs. Catt chairman of a committee to draw up the plan of work for the coming year. There was nothing new about such a committee except the report this one brought in, two days later. It began by stating that the suffrage association had been agitating for forty years but had failed to organize the sentiment it had created. Three things should be provided at once: correlation of national, state and local branches; a program of concrete aims; a finance committee that would finance. The plan called

for a standing committee on organization, to map out the national work and put organizers in the field. The organizers were to travel in pairs, a speaker and a business manager, to raise money to turn into the national treasury for the account of the Organization Committee. It recommended four regional conferences of states, North, South, East and West, midway between national conventions. It proposed for the local clubs a course of study in politics and government, a diploma to be given to those who completed it! A syllabus of the course was to be given to every club president with the exhortation to get students. Investigation of laws affecting women and children was recommended, with support of improved legislation, also an inquiry into the amount of property owned and taxes paid by women, the results to be used for propaganda purposes. The report apologized at the close for being sketchy, and suggested that a committee be appointed some weeks in advance of the next annual convention in order that it might have time to draw up a really adequate plan of work!

To say that the delegates were unprepared for this avalanche of criticism and advice is to put it mildly. There was much amusement when Miss Anthony remarked, after Mrs. Catt was through reading, "There never yet was a young woman who did not feel that if she had had the management of the work from the beginning, the cause would have carried long ago. I felt just that way when I was young." Nevertheless, they had a suspicion that they had just listened to their master's voice, and they set up the new organization committee asked for, making Mrs. Catt its chairman. The other members were Mary Garrett Hay of Indiana, Laura Clay of Kentucky, Mrs. Emmeline B. Wells, Mormon, of Utah, and Mrs. Annie L. Diggs, of Kansas. As chairman of a standing committee, Mrs. Catt automatically became a member of the business committee of the national association and from this time on she was increasingly its driving force.

*Chairman of Organization, 1895-1900*

As chairman of the Organization Committee, Mrs Catt had what was to her the most important position in the suffrage association. She now could direct the field work. The prospect confronting her was a bleak one. Ten states not only were without any organization, but so far as was known there was not a friend to the cause in most of them. As soon as she returned home from Atlanta she set herself to her task with fiery energy. Within the following three months, tours had been arranged for Elizabeth Upham Yates through the Southern states to New Orleans, for Annie Diggs in West Virginia, Maryland and New Jersey, for Mrs Emma Smith DeVoe through Minnesota, North Dakota, Montana and Idaho, for Laura Johns through Minnesota, North Dakota and Arizona, for Miss Anthony and Anna Howard Shaw a transcontinental trip, ending in San Francisco at the first of those four regional conferences recommended at the Atlanta convention, Laura Gregg was sent into Oklahoma, Julia B Nelson into New Mexico. An intensive campaign was planned in South Carolina where a constitutional convention was sitting. The Missouri suffrage organization having died, Miss Anna R Simmons was dispatched to resurrect it, after which she went into Nebraska and on to the Black Hills region.

As an aid to organizers, Mrs Catt drew up a form constitution for clubs and a booklet of instructions to officers. When she was ready to distribute them, she found that nobody knew how many clubs there were nor where, much less who were their officers. So she compiled a club directory, which took her the greater part of a year. She found that there were 800 clubs, 100 of which her committee had organized that year.

Her ignorance of what she was getting into when she began work is evident from the fact that she had asked no appropriation

for office expenses. She expected to do all the work herself! After three weeks, with eight speakers in the field, she called in a stenographer. In April, she called in the secretary of the committee, Mary Garrett Hay, who stayed with her all summer, beginning at this time the intimate collaboration which united them for many years. The time of three persons was now occupied with writing some 7,000 typed and handwritten letters, the latter mostly written by the chairman herself. She kept careful count of office supplies, and at the end of the year found that she had used up three quarts of ink! She had hoped to spend the \$1,800 which had been raised for the organization work at the Atlanta convention on the field work, trusting to collections and additional pledges to amplify it, but she found that the office was going to cost all that had been pledged for the whole work of the committee, and that she must raise more money. Some pledges did not materialize and she never had the same confidence in promises to pay after this. Then, too, she was disillusioned about the consecration of presidents of state organizations. Only two expressed a willingness to cooperate fully with her plans for intensive work.

For most of the year she was glued to her desk. She went as far west as Michigan in May, and during September and October spent some time in South Dakota and Montana, inspecting what her organizers had accomplished. To get money to carry on was her incessant worry. She started a shopping agency and turned the commissions into the treasury, she got up a suffrage calendar and cleared \$140 on Christmas sales! When she made up her accounts at the end of her first year as director of the national field work, she found she had raised and spent \$5,500, had turned her home into an office and nearly killed herself running it with insufficient help; had expanded the national association along new lines, had brought every state and territory into the association, nine state branches being entirely new and several more raised from the dead; had kept fourteen organizers in the field. Best of all, a member of her Organization Committee, Mrs. Emmeline B. Wells, president of the Utah Suffrage Association, led the campaign which brought



Utah into statehood with woman suffrage in its constitution. Victory in Utah was the high spot for the year, formal admission occurring January 6, 1896. There were now three suffrage states, with an amendment pending in Idaho.

The suffrage convention of 1896 which met shortly after the Utah victory naturally was in the nature of a celebration. Nevertheless, it had its troubles as well as its joys. The previous November, Mrs. Stanton's eightieth birthday had been celebrated by feminists throughout the nation, but by the time they gathered in Washington they were considerably disturbed by the commotion which had been raised by the publication in *The Woman's Tribune* of "The Woman's Bible." Mrs. Stanton had prepared this work as a labor of love, having long cherished an animosity for the theological anti-feminists of every age. Miss Anthony had besought her friend to leave the Bible alone and not to be drawn away from the issue of votes for women, but Mrs. Stanton had come to regard the church as a main obstacle in the path of woman's progress and went ahead with her work. Mrs. Catt consented to be a member of the committee on the preparation of the book. When she learned, however, how the subject was to be treated, she realized that it would arouse hostility to the suffrage cause among religious people, and for that reason withdrew from the committee.

The younger workers came to the convention exasperated by having had "The Woman's Bible" continually brought up in their meetings by hecklers. Mrs. Stanton was not present at the convention, being too infirm to make the journey. If rumblings of discontent had reached Miss Anthony's ears she had disregarded them, and it came as a great shock to her when Rachel Foster Avery in her secretary's report read out to the convention a caustic censure of "The Woman's Bible" because of the antagonism it had aroused in church circles against the suffrage movement! And when, despite her vehement opposition, a resolution was submitted by the resolutions committee and carried by the convention, disavowing any connection with or responsibility for "The Woman's Bible," the old leader was angered and hurt beyond expression. Mrs. Catt helped

put the resolution through and came in for the chief share of Susan's bitterness. Miss Anthony would not trust herself to discuss the matter with her at the convention, but she summoned Mrs. Catt to appear at Mrs. Stanton's home in New York for a show down after the convention was over.

Mrs. Catt went to this rendezvous in no happy state of mind. Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony were the two most famous figures in the feminist movement. Their age and prestige commanded her profound deference. She was aware that Mrs. Stanton was urging Miss Anthony to join her in a public withdrawal as officers of the suffrage association. She doubted that she could make any defense of the action of the convention which would be tolerable to either of them. When she arrived at Mrs. Stanton's home, Miss Anthony was not in and Mrs. Stanton was taking a nap, and she sat down in considerable trepidation to wait for the interview.

Presently Miss Anthony came and plunged at once into the subject. In substance, she said that the suffrage association had offered a gratuitous insult to the greatest woman the movement could show, the woman who had launched it in 1848 and led it ever since. Who, she would like to know, had authorized the younger suffragists to sit in judgment on Elizabeth Cady Stanton or to set up a censorship over what she, or anybody else, might write? Miss Anthony was so ashamed of this exhibition of bigotry that she was minded to sever connection with those guilty of it! Mrs. Catt listened, pale and silent, till the storm in the wounded leader's soul had somewhat spent itself, then attempted to reply. At first she was interrupted at every sentence. She explained that the resolution was brought up in the convention by women who were carrying the brunt of the work throughout the country, and who were continually assailed by the charge that the movement was anti-religious. These women felt that the only way to reply effectually to this charge was by official action. There was no thought of censoring what Mrs. Stanton wrote, but only to make it absolutely clear that she wrote as an individual, not as the spokesman of the association.

As the interview progressed, the voices of the two women became more earnest. Suddenly a door opened and Mrs. Stanton her-

self stood on the threshold. Despite her short stature she was an imposing creature, with her solid bulk, her puffs of white hair, and the mocking light in her keen eyes. Mrs. Catt paid a mental tribute of admiration and ruefulness as she faced the doughty old feminist.

"I overheard voices pronouncing my name, and I came to hear what was being said," said Mrs. Stanton. Mrs. Catt repeated the statement she had just made to Miss Anthony, that the resolution had come through the Resolutions Committee in the regular way, that the discussion on the floor had been full and fair, that the large minority vote against the resolution showed considerable diversity of opinion, that the still larger vote in favor was undoubtedly registered with regret. Responsible officers and chairmen of committees with scarcely an exception had supported it, many of them like herself being generally sympathetic to Mrs. Stanton's arguments. The point was that, when an officer's private opinions hampered the progress of the movement, it was right to point out that they *were* private.

Mrs. Stanton listened judicially, displaying no resentment, smiling at the commotion she had caused in the dovecotes, but her canny old eyes took in the deferential but resolute young figure confronting her and Susan. She was aware that Mrs. Catt had withdrawn from collaboration on "The Woman's Bible," and that Miss Anthony herself deplored her friend's preoccupation with the church's anti-feminism. Philosophically Mrs. Stanton shrugged her shoulders under the weight of her eighty years, she had not much longer to live, but until the eternal silence swallowed her up, there should be one woman who would say exactly whatever she wanted to, and if the young fry did not like it, they could lump it! The interview ended amicably, and Mrs. Catt left the house, her heart filled with pity for Miss Anthony and mingled exasperation and envy for Mrs. Stanton, who had apparently managed to live eighty years without repressing any desires. On her part Mrs. Stanton harbored no ill feelings. Later on, when she was carrying on a debate in the press on the question of an educational qualification for the suffrage, her daughter, Mrs. Blatch, taking the opposite side, she summoned Mrs. Catt to come and see her and state her own views on the subject.

Mrs Catt went, listened for an hour to Mrs Stanton's vigorous exposition of the desirability of an educational qualification, and finally left without having had a chance to utter a word, for or against!

The work of the organization committee had now grown so much that an office was opened in the World Building, New York, where Mr Catt's company headquarters were. The National American Woman Suffrage Association headquarters were maintained in Rachel Foster Avery's home in Philadelphia, with Mrs Avery in charge as corresponding secretary, but the greater part of the association's business gravitated to the New York office, while the major portion of the funds from now on was raised by Mrs Catt's committee.

The year 1896 was a critical one politically. Cleveland was ending his second term, the Populist Party was rampant in the West, both old parties were in a state of chaos on the Free Silver issue and anything might happen at the nominating conventions. Added to the domestic confusion, anarchy in Cuba was a growing cloud on the international horizon. The Republican nominating convention met in St. Louis and Mrs Catt went with a strong delegation to urge a suffrage plank in the platform. The fact that the Free Silver advocates generally were friendly to votes for women made the old line Republicans waver in their opposition. There is nothing like trouble to broaden the mind! Mrs Catt and Lillie Devereux Blake were escorted to seats on the platform. Mr Blackwell tackled Henry Cabot Lodge on the subject of a suffrage plank while Mrs Catt interviewed Mark Hanna. Under the prodding of Mr Blackwell, Mr. Lodge shepherded into the platform the nearest approach to a feminist endorsement he is known to have countenanced. It read as follows: "The Republican Party is mindful of the rights and interests of women. . . . *We favor the admission of women to wider spheres of usefulness and welcome their cooperation in rescuing the country from Democratic mismanagement and Populist misrule.*" The gratitude aroused by this plank in the breasts of women in Idaho and California who were campaigning to win Democratic and

Populist votes can be imagined Susan B Anthony exclaimed, "That climaxes all the outrages ever offered to women in the history of political platforms!"

In Chicago, the Democratic convention in its furor over the Cross of Gold speech, declined to mention suffrage in its platform Mr. Bryan himself was against endorsing it Two suffrage referendum campaigns were running simultaneously, in Idaho and California, that year The Idaho campaign did not loom very high in popular interest, being quite overshadowed by the California struggle; but in strategy and team work it was the equal of any Two years before, William E Borah had sponsored the bill providing for a suffrage referendum Mrs Catt sent Mrs DeVoe and Laura Johns into the state on intensive organizing tours, and Mrs. Johns returned to spend the four months preceding election in campaign work The following excerpt from an account of her experiences which Mrs. Johns sent to *The Woman's Journal* gives some idea of what campaigning was like in Idaho

The country was new but interesting, the travel was heavy, there were high waters, there was much staging over wild, dangerous, lonely roads, which had to be traversed somehow, anyhow, but there always were fine women and noble men and great work at the journey's end The question was new, but that was not without its advantages Nearly every force we sought to marshal to our support was a two-edged sword, likely to cut both ways

The parties did not hold their conventions until August and Mrs Catt was asked by the campaign committee to appear with the Idaho women and make the speech calling for a suffrage plank in each platform There were four conventions in all Gold Republican, Silver Republican, Democratic and Populist, all four meeting in Boise She was given a hearty welcome at each, addressing not only the Resolutions Committee, but the delegates on the floor, and all four conventions endorsed the plank While the conventions were assembling and adjourning, she was entertained in the homes of local sympathizers with the cause, spending the nights at the home of a Gold Republican, and taking meals at the home of his cousin, a Silver Republican. Because of their divergent political views, the

cousins were not on speaking terms, but they had one sentiment in common and that was a fervent hatred of Democrats and Populists'

These two parties had agreed to support a common ticket, and after their conventions they united in holding a political rally in the park, hired a band and invited Mrs Catt to speak in behalf of the suffrage amendment Her Gold Republican host heard of it and was filled with wrath He was waiting for her when she came back to the house and gave her to understand that nobody staying in his home could attend that meeting, much less address it' Much astonished, Mrs Catt explained that she was speaking solely upon a question which had been endorsed by all four parties The Gold Republican was not mollified and said if she spoke at that meeting she should not do so as his guest Mrs Catt got her traveling bag and found other lodgings

In the evening she went to the rally There was a great crowd, the band was playing, and midway among the speakers Mrs Catt was introduced and made her appeal for the women of Idaho Her erstwhile host, the Gold Republican, was among the crowd (against his principles) and as he listened to her the bitterness in his heart faded When she came down from the bandstand he came to meet her, said he was ashamed of himself and entreated her to return to his home She accepted his apology good humoredly, but told him she thought she had better stay where she was

Having secured the political endorsements, Mrs Catt made a tour of the southwestern part of the state, speaking at political rallies to voters of all parties—the first time such a thing had been possible in a suffrage campaign In September she asked Mary C Bradford of Colorado to take her place for the remainder of the campaign, while she went on to California Idaho became the fourth suffrage state at the November election, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Idaho now forming a solid block in the Rocky Mountain region

When she reached San Francisco, she found a very different situation. There was excellent organization with plenty of workers and more enthusiasm than there had ever been in a suffrage cam-

paign Miss Anthony had been in the state all summer Anna Howard Shaw was addressing immense audiences in forty-six counties, Ida Husted Harper was directing an able press campaign, Miss Hay was directing routes of speakers and organizers, all parties but the Democratic endorsed the question, and the press was not hostile It seemed all right, but as time went on, the women became aware of underground hostility, centering in and emanating from San Francisco In the southern part of the immense state, suffrage forces in the populous counties were being organized on district, ward and precinct lines This was a novel and fruitful experiment. During the first weeks of her stay, Mrs Catt toured the northern half of the state Then she accompanied Miss Anthony on a trip to the southern region The old leader was no longer equal to the sustained demands of a campaign tour, but she did not flinch and spoke at every meeting

As the campaign wore to its close, evidence of opposition increased Suffrage speakers were refused time at political meetings, the friendly attitude of the press changed, underworld tactics were employed by the opposition San Francisco, Oakland and Alameda were the debatable ground, and there women watchers were stationed at the polls in every election district on Election Day When the result was announced, it was found that these three cities had defeated the amendment The loss of California was a heart-breaking defeat It left the state suffrage organization exhausted and in debt, and it was many years before it recovered to fight again

On the way back East, Miss Anthony and Mrs Catt attended state conventions in Reno, Des Moines, Kansas City, and Springfield, Ohio Mrs Catt left the tired old leader in Rochester, and returned to Bensonhurst after an absence of three and a half months. Shortly before Christmas, she invited the national board of officers to come to her home for a board meeting to lay before them the Organization Committee's plan of work for the ensuing year

Rachel Foster Avery was the first to arrive, and Mrs Catt took her to the pantry and pointed with pride to the shelves where row on row of cakes, pies, pickles, preserves, baked ham, roast fowls, gal-

lons of soup-stock were lined up to support life during the three-day meeting. Menus for every meal were written for the cook's guidance so that the mistress of the house could devote her mind to higher things. All day the group talked business. In the evenings, when Mr. Catt came home and they had enjoyed a bountiful dinner, relaxation and merriment were unconfined.

The Berkshire Historical Society had arranged to hold its summer meeting that year at the old Anthony Homestead near North Adams, Massachusetts, in July, with Miss Anthony as a guest of honor. Miss Anthony decided to get up a family reunion at the same time, and also invite the officers of the national suffrage association to be her guests in the old house during the festivities. The house was a large three-story structure, with square, low-ceilinged rooms bare of furniture, but with an assortment of old cord bedsteads in the attic which were brought down to the bedrooms for the official board to sleep on. Miss Anthony went on a week in advance of the celebration, and her relatives in the vicinity took in chairs, dishes, mattresses, linen and food supplies. There was to be a suffrage board meeting before the other scheduled events, and therefore the board members were the earliest arrivals. The evenings were cool enough so that a fire was built in the fireplace of the old parlor, and after their business sessions during the day the suffragists gathered around the blaze and encouraged Miss Anthony to reminisce "in the very room where seventy-five years before she had carried on her childish games and listened to parents and grandparents discuss the burning questions of intemperance, slavery and religious intolerance."<sup>5</sup>

One night when the circle was particularly intimate and genial, Rachel Foster Avery said, "Aunt Susan, you must have had a romance in your life! Won't you tell us about it?" The others all chimed in begging to hear her love story. Miss Anthony was looking into the fire in what seemed to be a promising way, and after being sufficiently adjured, she began. "The young man was coming in a cutter to take me to my meeting. It was a cold night and he helped me into the sleigh and tucked the buffalo robe snugly around

<sup>5</sup> *Life of Susan B. Anthony*, I. H. Harper, Vol. II, p. 941



us and we started off After a while, he proposed." Here she stopped, and after a decent pause somebody said, "And what happened next, Aunt Susan?" "I refused him," said Miss Anthony, and stopped again "Well, but—go on! Tell us the rest! You must have more than that on your mind!" clamored the audience. "That's all there was to it," said the old lady with a twinkle in her eye, and no amount of questioning could induce her to enlarge on the scene Her board of officers went to bed that night wondering whether she had been spoofing them or telling a real incident. They had to keep on wondering, for she never revealed any further particulars.

Owing either to the weight of the suffragists or to the age of the cords, most of the beds broke down the first night they were slept in, and the national officers spent the rest of the night on the floor. But Miss Anthony had a wonderful time She was in the home of her childhood, with her young lieutenants about her to fill its silence with song and laughter once more

Mrs Catt, however, came to the meeting with anything but a carefree spirit She laid before the board a statement of the activities of her committee As a sample of the way she prepared a state for the submission of a suffrage amendment, that summer's work in Iowa will serve There are ninety-nine counties in Iowa; a county convention was scheduled in each, two teams of organizers and speakers conducted meetings simultaneously in adjoining counties so that speakers could be exchanged The northern half of the state was covered in the spring, the southern half was to be covered in the fall, ending with a state convention in Des Moines, when headquarters were to be opened to put the amendment through the legislature

The same kind of intensive work was going on in South Dakota, where an amendment was to be voted on the coming year, and a month was given to Illinois This had cost money, and with her best efforts at economy, Mrs Catt had to lay before the board the alternative of borrowing money or giving up the fall program The reason for the shortage was unpaid pledges Miss Anthony came to the

rescue promptly. She would lend \$800 personally and get \$200 more from a fund she knew of <sup>6</sup>

The enthusiasm felt by the young workers for the rising leader was often just this side idolatry. Their rivalry in good works sometimes led to friction, but jealousy and resentment evaporated in Mrs. Catt's presence with uncanny celerity. She sublimated the affection of her lieutenants into work for the cause, and the persuasiveness of her appeal for a united front generally was irresistible. Her extraordinary energy was compared by her followers with the less spectacular activities of the other national officers to the disadvantage of the latter. When she heard of this, she took occasion at the close of her report to the national convention of 1898 to denounce factionalism and lukewarmness.

If I were asked to name the chief cause obstructing organization, I should not hesitate to reply. It is not to be found in the antisuffragists nor in ignorance nor in conservatism. It is to be found in the hopeless, lifeless, faithless members of our own organization. We find them in state executive committees, where appalled by the magnitude of the undertaking they decide that organization is impossible because there is no money, and they make no effort to secure funds. They are to be found in our national body, ready to find fault with plans and results and to criticize the conscientious efforts of those who are struggling to accomplish good. Yet they are never ready to propose more helpful methods. "It cannot be done" is their motto, and by it they constantly discourage the hopeful and extract all enthusiasm from new workers. However, these apathetic ones, while not so well awake as we might wish, are beginning to come to life. Several state organizations have elected new officers who promise a more vigorous policy. Let us encourage any criticism offered with the intention of replacing present

<sup>6</sup> A summary of the accomplishments of Mrs. Catt's committee during this year of 1897 is impressive. Exclusive of loans, she had raised nearly three times as much money as the national treasury had otherwise taken in, while much of the latter portion was the result of increased dues paid by the expanding membership. Every town in Mississippi had been visited by organizers in a three months tour, two months had been given to Tennessee, three weeks to Missouri, less time to West Virginia and Maryland, in addition to activities already mentioned. Over 1,000 public meetings had been held, two state branches, 113 county, and 110 local societies had been formed. In 1892, the national suffrage treasurer's report listed receipts in round numbers as \$2,500. In 1897, receipts were \$13,000. It is difficult to see how so much work could be done on so little money. The explanation of course is that the organizers lived on the country and drew small salaries. Nobody except the organizers was paid at all.

methods with better ones, but let us frown upon aimless fault-finding, and let us banish from our vocabulary the word "can't" Let our watchword be "Organization and Union "

At the very moment when these confident and inspiring words were being uttered in the convention in Washington, news reached the delegates of the destruction of the "Maine" in Havana harbor They did not foresee the significance of that catastrophe as it was to affect their own movement Susan B Anthony and her contemporaries had seen what war does to liberal thought The movement for the enfranchisement of women had only now recovered from the paralysis that overcame it in the sixties and seventies, and now the younger feminists were to learn what even a third-rate war can do to slow down social evolution Although they were troubled by the national tragedy, they separated at the close of their meeting filled with the inspiration of a dynamic and fearless leader Her tongue-lashing of the "hopeless, lifeless, faithless" members had given unholy joy to the real workers

The president of the Louisiana state suffrage association, Mrs Caroline E Merrick of New Orleans, had come to the meeting in Washington bringing to Mrs Catt an official invitation from the president of the Louisiana Constitutional Convention which was sitting in New Orleans that winter, asking her to come down and speak at the hearing on woman suffrage Mrs Catt, accompanied by Laura Clay and Mary Garrett Hay, went directly from Washington to New Orleans Instead of speaking at a committee hearing, she was introduced at an evening meeting in Tulane Hall, and addressed the whole convention, while the galleries were crowded with attentive listeners After prolonged debate, the convention adopted an amendment which gave women who paid taxes the right to vote on tax measures For Louisiana this was an enormous step forward.

The outbreak of war with Spain in April brought suffrage activities to an abrupt standstill Recruiting for the army was going on everywhere, and no attention could be secured for anything else One looks back to the Spanish War from these days of air warfare and murder of hostages as to a kind of martial Arcadia There was

no feeling of danger, we were chiefly concerned that our troops should boil their drinking water and screen their tents against mosquitoes. When Hobson was captured trying to bottle up the Spanish fleet in Santiago harbor, the Spanish admiral sent word to the American admiral that our hero was uninjured and would be well treated! San Juan Hill was taken by an army that got tired of waiting for orders to advance and took matters into their own hands. Dewey stopped in the middle of the Battle of Manila Bay to let his men eat breakfast. The only really savage hostilities were the verbal engagements between two American admirals after the war was over!

But trifling as it was from a military point of view, it marked the end of a decade during which liberal ideas were regarded with unusual friendliness. The series of suffrage victories of that decade was now to be followed by a pause. Not that the chairman of the Organization Committee did any pausing. She toured the country two months as usual in the spring and fall. In the early winter of 1899, she and Miss Hay took an extra trip to Oklahoma and Arizona, trying to get suffrage bills through both the territorial legislatures. Determined opposition by the liquor interests frustrated their efforts, and they had nothing to show for many wasted weeks.

Word came to Mrs. Catt while she was in Arizona that her father, who had been an invalid for some time, was critically ill, and instead of going home after the legislative sessions, she went to Charles City, where her parents were living. Lucius, on the day of her arrival, came to the dinner table for the last time, and after the meal was over, father and daughter found themselves alone together in the living room. After they had talked for a little while, Lucius suddenly asked:

"Why are you living as you do? This work you are doing takes most of your time, doesn't it?"

"Yes," replied the daughter.

"You don't get any salary, do you?"

"No."

"You are under expense much of the time, too, aren't you?"

"Yes."

"You must have some reason for it, and I have thought it might be because you want friends and this is one way to get them. But I want to say to you that if the time ever comes when you need friends, you won't find them. They won't be there."

"I don't think I am doing as I do for friends, Father."

"If it is not for money or friends, then it must be for glory. You like to speak, to win attention and applause, to meet noted people?"

"I don't think I'm after glory, as you call it."

"Then if it isn't for any of these reasons, *what is it* you are wearing yourself out for?" asked the old man earnestly.

Faced pointblank with this question, his daughter searched her mind for a plain answer and did not find one. That inner compulsion which drove her was beyond explanation. Perhaps Lucius followed her thought and interpreted her silence by his own experience, for he began to talk about his youth, the years in California, in Wisconsin, in Iowa, about what he had meant to do and how this and that had thwarted him. As she listened, his daughter realized that he, too, had been obedient to an inner compulsion, that he had not achieved what he set out to do, that he felt defeated. He had doggedly done what he could, but he could not tell why any better than she could. At the close of the conversation, he seemed relieved as if something he had had on his mind had been expressed. He never referred to it again. Mrs. Catt's mother was worn out with the strain of her husband's long illness, and the daughter stayed on and assumed responsibility during the last few weeks of her father's life. Lucius died on April 13, 1899.

The national suffrage convention that year had been postponed until the last of April, when it met in Grand Rapids. Mrs. Catt went to it immediately after her father's funeral, greatly depressed, mentally and physically. The burden of money-raising weighed her down perpetually. Alice Stone Blackwell in seconding her appeal for money said editorially in *The Woman's Journal*

Mrs. Catt gives her whole time and labor, and can with difficulty be got to take even her expenses while in the field. With abilities that, if she were a man, would make her governor of a state or president of a university . . . she gives her energies to the struggling cause of justice to women. But anxiety about how to meet the cost of the work, the running expenses of the

necessary machinery, weighs upon her year in and year out As she said in her speech at Grand Rapids, these constant financial worries are more wearing than all the work If we let our ablest worker have her strength frittered away by worry for lack of prompt and generous financial backing, we shall be killing the goose that lays the golden eggs for the suffrage cause

The sensation of the convention came in Miss Anthony's comments following the report of the Organization Committee

I cannot express my appreciation of the great aid to our work that has come these last few years through Mrs Catt [she began] I have felt like the veriest shirk in the world ever since We have had an immense work done, and done under one head and according to one plan If our present officers were to drop out, I could not put my finger on a woman to take Mrs Catt's place, nor one to fill Rachel Foster Avery's place nor Harriet Taylor Upton's I want you all to be preparing in your states young women who can take up the burden and responsibility of the national Association when we drop them *I am going to step out at the next convention*

Although it was not unexpected, the old leader's announcement of retirement made a great stir It had not been easy for her to make the decision to relinquish official leadership of a cause which literally was her whole life Once in her official career she had had the melancholy duty of removing from office a state president whose advanced age disqualified her for efficient service Miss Anthony was greatly distressed by the incident, and at the time made Mrs Avery promise that she would tell her when she thought it was time for Miss Anthony to retire Accordingly, a couple of years before the Grand Rapids convention, Mrs Avery decided that the time had come, and went to her chief to remind her of the promise she had extracted To her consternation, Miss Anthony was deeply hurt and offended. In effect, the old lady told the secretary of the suffrage association to mind her own business, which after that Mrs Avery did! Nevertheless the incident must have helped bring Miss Anthony to the conclusion that, as she would be eighty years old at the next convention, it would be an appropriate time for her to give place to a younger standard bearer

The fall of 1899 saw Mrs Catt start on another of those arduous tours which kept her in touch with her fellow workers in every part

of the country. It was part of Miss Hay's duties to go along with her and act as business manager, and together they attended state conventions in Ohio, Mason City, Iowa (where Mrs. Catt had a few hours with her mother), Minnesota, Montana, Washington and Utah.

From Utah they went to California, thence to Arizona, where they resuscitated the somnolent state association. From Arizona they proceeded to New Mexico to perform a similar operation. They received a warm welcome in Santa Fe from Mrs. Catherine P. Wallace, who consented to act as president of the rejuvenated association. They were entertained by Mrs. Wallace, who was the wife of Hon. George H. Wallace, Secretary of the Territory, in the old Spanish Palacio which was still used as the official residence. The Wallaces had long been connected with Territorial history, and Mrs. Catt occupied the room in which General Lew Wallace had written *Ben Hur*, when he was living in the Palacio as Territorial Governor. Mrs. Wallace told Mrs. Catt an anecdote about Mrs. Zerelda Wallace, Lew Wallace's step-mother, an outstanding suffrage advocate and a woman greatly beloved by all the family. The General asked her one day which character in *Ben Hur* she liked the best, and she replied, "Ben Hur's mother," and inquired who had suggested the character to him? "Why, my dear mother," replied the author, "you are the original of that character!"

From Santa Fe, Mrs. Catt and Miss Hay went to Colorado, thence to Nebraska to attend the state convention in Lincoln, which was the wind-up of one of those intensive organizing campaigns so dear to Mrs. Catt's soul. Eight organizers had been at work in the state for weeks, holding forty-two county conventions and forming thirty-eight new clubs. From Lincoln they went to Indianapolis to resurrect the Indiana association. Here they were met by Miss Anthony, who saw nothing unusual about making a journey at her advanced age from Rochester, New York, to Indianapolis in winter-time. From Indianapolis Mrs. Catt went to Lexington, Kentucky for a convention, and from there home to Bensonhurst.

During this her last year as chairman of the Organization Committee, she visited twenty states, attended fifteen conventions, made fifty-one set speeches and nobody knows how many more, spent sixty-four days and twenty-eight nights on trains which carried her over 13,000 miles. All this cost the national suffrage treasury practically nothing! Miss Hay's expenses were contributed by a friend and Mrs. Catt's were covered by small lecture fees, entertainment in private homes, and passes or reduced tickets on the railroads. This summary of the year's activities has been set down, not because it makes interesting reading, but because these were the labors that created an invincible leader.



PART III

*Leadership: 1900-1904*



## 1.

### *Miss Anthony Chooses Her Successor*

Miss Anthony's retirement from the presidency of the National American Woman Suffrage Association was an historic event. The fame of the old leader had mounted as her years increased until she now stood unchallenged as the outstanding feminist in her own country, if not in the world. A kind of legend grew around her in her last years, reflecting pretty faithfully what she really was—a woman of high integrity, sound common sense, as free from egotism as a human being can be, with the kind of homely greatness symbolized by Lincoln. The respect and honor she had won from an unwilling world was reflected in lessening hostility to her cause. When she stepped out of the position of leadership, her successor would be expected to sustain in the public eye the dignity which Miss Anthony had conferred on the suffrage movement.

It was inevitable that Mrs. Catt should be looked upon as the logical person to follow her famous predecessors, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, in the president's office. As soon as Miss Anthony announced her retirement, the chairman of the Organization Committee was approached by Mrs. Avery on behalf of the national officers with the request that she be a candidate. There were two other women who might have been considered, Anna Howard Shaw and Lillie Devereux Blake. Miss Shaw, however, was dependent on lecturing for her income and could not serve without a salary, while the association could not afford to pay salaries. She said frankly enough that she would rather be Susan B. Anthony's successor as leader of the suffrage movement than anything else in the world. To a woman of her passionate nature it was a tragedy to give way to another in this ambition. On her part, Miss Anthony's deep personal admiration for Miss Shaw undoubtedly would

have led her to choose the latter had the qualifications of her two officers been equal. But they were not. Dr. Shaw was a brilliant genius on the platform, she had untiring energy, was devoted to her cause, had a host of loyal followers, but she lacked the judicial temper, could not "suffer fools gladly," and simply was not in Mrs. Catt's class as a creative leader—which nobody knew better than Miss Anthony.

Mrs. Blake had given great service and was a woman of exceptional ability, but she was not the national figure which Mrs. Catt had come to be. Pressure from all parts of the association was focussed on the organization chairman. Years before, when Lucy Stone lay dying, she had said to her husband and daughter, "If Mrs. Catt ever is a candidate for president of the national association, I hope all our Massachusetts people will vote for her, and I want you to tell them I said so."<sup>7</sup> Alice Blackwell remembered that request, and shortly before the national convention came out for her in *The Woman's Journal*.

Reluctantly Mrs. Catt took the matter up with her husband. She did not want the responsibilities of the presidency added to her work in the Organization Committee, she did not wish to be away from home as much as she knew she would have to be as president, and she could not afford it financially. Mr. Catt advised her to take the office and not to worry about money. Both of them knew that for the past few years she had been directive head of the movement behind the revered figure of Susan B. Anthony, and felt that it was wise for the actual leader to become the official leader when a change was to be made. The chances for friction were greatly lessened thereby. Therefore she consented to stand as candidate.

The national convention met in Washington, February 8, with Miss Anthony as the central figure. Mrs. Catt and Mrs. Avery managed the old leader's eightieth birthday celebration which went off with great éclat. At the Senate hearing on woman suffrage, when Miss Anthony arrived with her speakers, she saw a distracted group of women trying to get past the doorkeeper. She stopped to investi-

<sup>7</sup> *The Woman's Journal*, February 17, 1900.

gate and found that they were antisuffragists. As this was the first time the ladies of the opposition had appeared before a Congressional hearing, no seats had been reserved for them and the room was already filled. Without hesitation, Miss Anthony took the anti's in tow, routed some suffragists out of their seats for the benefit of the unbelievers, and introduced the latter to the chairman of the Senate Committee!

In the convention when the time came for the election of officers, Mrs. Blake withdrew her name, and Mrs. Catt and the members of her board were elected without opposition. The *Washington Post* said

There was a touching scene when the vote for Mrs. Chapman Catt was announced. First, there was an outburst of applause, and then as though all at once every one realized that she was witnessing the passing of Susan B. Anthony, their beloved president, the deepest silence prevailed. Lifelong members of the Association, who had toiled and struggled by the side of Miss Anthony could not restrain their emotions and wept in spite of their efforts at control.

The old leader led her young successor to the front of the platform and presented her to the delegates.

I have the great pleasure of introducing Mrs. Chapman Catt as your choice for president. I never made a presentation with greater delight than this. From what I have seen of her work during the last decade, I am sure you have made a wise choice. "New occasions teach new duties." Mrs. Chapman Catt has had the opportunity to do good work as chairman of the Organization Committee and has been equal to it, and I am sure she will be equal to the larger opportunities of her new position.

Mrs. Catt stood with downcast eyes for some moments before she attempted to speak, then she said:

Good Friends, I should be hardly human if I did not feel gratitude and appreciation for the confidence you have shown in me, but I feel the honor of this position much less than its responsibility. I never was an aspirant for it. I consented only six weeks ago to stand. I was not willing to be the next president after Miss Anthony. I have known that there was a general loyalty to her which could not be given to any younger worker. Since Miss Anthony announced her intention to retire, there have been editorials in many leading papers, expressing approval of her but not of the cause. She has

been much larger than our association. The papers have spoken of the new president as Miss Anthony's successor. Miss Anthony never will have a successor. A president chosen from the younger workers is on a level with the association.

The association might suffer in consequence of Miss Anthony's retirement if we did not still have her to counsel and advise us. I pledge you whatever ability God has given me, but I cannot do this work alone. The cause has got beyond where one woman can do the whole. I shall not be its leader as Miss Anthony has been, I shall be only an officer of this association. I will do all I can, but I cannot do it without the cooperation of all of you. I hope you will not find the association growing smaller during my administration. I pledge you to do the best I can, and I hope you will all help me to bear the burden.

There was something arresting in the reiterated appeal for cooperation. Even Miss Anthony never had had the unanimous support of the national association, although the disaffected faction was inconsiderable. Mrs. Catt was aware of Miss Shaw's longing to follow Miss Anthony in the presidency and of Mrs. Blake's last minute withdrawal. A far less astute person than she was would have realized, too, that the Organization Committee had developed into the preponderant group of the association, was in fact doing the greater part of the work and enjoying the greater part of the prestige, and that this was a situation which required skilful handling. Another element of possible trouble was the dislike felt by certain prominent members of the association for Mary Garrett Hay, and their jealousy of her close collaboration with Mrs. Catt.

After the convention was over, at the very first meeting of the executive committee over which Mrs. Catt now presided as president, opposition to the continuance of the Organization Committee raised its head. The executive committee was a sizable group composed of the state president and one other member of each state delegation. Since the convention had voted unanimously the day before to continue the Organization Committee with Mrs. Catt as chairman, this move was quite unconstitutional, as the Blackwells promptly pointed out. A heated debate ensued during which Miss Hay and Mrs. Springer, the only members of the Organization Committee besides Mrs. Catt herself who were present, offered their resignations, and

Harriet Taylor Upton, who could not abide dissension, fled weeping from the room. Miss Anthony proposed that the national officers be regarded as the Organization Committee, headed by Mrs. Catt. Infuriated supporters of the Organization Committee retorted that the officers never had done and never would do the work! At this point, Mrs. Catt brought down the gavel, called up "unfinished business," and a measure of calm settled down over the remainder of the session. At its close, she went to her room and locked herself in, returning no answer to many vehement knocks on the door.

There were all the makings in this situation of a factional feud. Mrs. Catt was deeply hurt and offended by the time and place and manner of the attack on the Organization Committee. Her immediate impulse was to resign from the presidency. As the hours wore on, however, she realized that there was but one course for her to take, and that was to act for the best interests of the cause she had been elected to lead. The next day she presided at the last post-convention meeting of the executive committee, offering no comment on the deliberations and calling to order speakers whose ardor got out of hand. Miss Anthony called up her motion that in future the national officers be considered the Organization Committee and it was passed by a very small margin. Miss Hay's and Mrs. Springer's resignations were accepted, and a unanimous vote of thanks was tendered them for services rendered.

At a board meeting following the adjournment of the executive committee meeting, Mrs. Catt asked that each national officer state her idea of the duties, powers and limitations of the president. Miss Anthony said she did not know, she had just gone ahead without bothering about them! Other officers made it clear that the old one-man style of president was out of date, and that they wanted to help formulate policies. They made it equally clear, however, that they regretted deeply the scene at the executive committee meeting. Having elected her and read the riot act to her, they now took their president to their bosom and made her chairman of a new committee, the National Bazaar Committee!

Any hope which may have been entertained by those who disliked Miss Hay that she would be eliminated from the scene along with the Organization Committee was speedily dissipated. She went right on in an unofficial capacity doing the same things she had been doing. She also went right along conveying the impression that Mrs. Catt was Mrs. Catt and she was her prophet, and in time suffragists became reconciled to it. When ill health compelled Mrs. Catt to withdraw from leadership of the national suffrage association, Miss Hay became prominent in the General Federation of Women's Clubs and was influential in swinging that organization behind the suffrage movement in the final drive for victory.



### *President of the National Association*

For several years the work of the suffrage Organization Committee had been carried on from a corner which Mrs Catt had pre-empted in her husband's business office in the New York World Building. The accommodations there had now become inadequate for both of them, and Mr Catt engaged larger quarters for his rapidly expanding business in the Park Row Building. His company was now one of the major marine construction firms in the country. The suffrage work had expanded likewise, and Mrs Catt took offices high up in the new American Tract Society Building. The day they moved in, Mr Catt telephoned to inquire how the suffragists liked their new quarters? He was told there was a glorious view and perpetual trade winds blowing, that the office force had roped themselves to their chairs to keep from being swept out the windows and had bought all the paper weights in the neighborhood to hold down their papers!

In reaction to the increasing activity of the suffragists, the anti-suffragists were beginning to raise their heads in New York, spurred on by their sisters in Boston. There had been an antisuffrage society in existence for many years,<sup>8</sup> but its membership was small and its influence hitherto negligible. As the suffrage movement gained momentum, however, it stirred up the anti's to an opposition which made up in shrill animosity what it lacked in logic and numbers. Suffragists, on their part, took an unholy delight in advertising the fact that the anti's had ranged themselves alongside the liquor and vice elements of the electorate in opposing votes for women.

The fact that she was president of the suffrage association did not release Mrs. Catt from any former duties, and she started on the

<sup>8</sup> Formed 1871, with the wives of General Sherman and Admiral Dahlgren, and Mrs. Almira Lincoln Phelps as officers. *History of Woman Suffrage*, Vol III, p 99

spring tour as usual, visiting Tennessee, Arkansas and Mississippi. Her solicitude for the new state associations in the South had resulted in a schedule of seven meetings in as many cities in Mississippi. But the Father of Waters was in full spate, and the whole eastern part of the state was so penetrated by waters backed up in the swollen rivers that she could hardly get from place to place. On her way to Jackson, the train was stopped by a washout around which the passengers had to walk for some distance to a train waiting for them on the other side. The ground quaked beneath their feet, it was raining and the long pendants of gray moss on cypress and live oak streamed with water. She kept close to the porter who was carrying her suitcase, and when he set down his load to rest, she admonished him to set the luggage on a dry spot. She had a new reception dress together with her platform dress in the suitcase, and if they got soaked as the suit she had on already was, she would have nothing to wear at the meeting that evening.

When she arrived many hours late in Jackson, her suitcase was missing! She was taken to the home where she was to spend the night and went to bed while the clothes she had on were being dried. Miss Belle Kearny, prominent suffragist in the state who was also a guest in the house, offered to lend a dress to Mrs. Catt to speak in. Belle Kearny was short and Mrs. Catt was tall, and in those days the length of a gown was a serious consideration. The dress looked fine on the borrower, however, from the knees up, and the heavy balustrade around the Speaker's desk in the Representatives' Chamber at the Capitol, where the meeting was held, did the rest.

On another occasion the hazards of the platform might have ended seriously. She was seated on a narrow stage raised about four feet above the floor, with a curtain depending from a long rod as a backdrop, which concealed the fact that there was a space between the back of the stage floor and the wall. A late comer passed in front of her to reach a seat. Mrs. Catt instinctively pushed her chair back to give room to pass, the back legs of her chair went over the edge of the platform, and chair and occupant disappeared under the curtain falling backward to the floor. Nobody observed the acci-

dent, the victim although badly shaken up had not broken her neck, and went back on the stage with nobody the wiser

On completion of the southern trip, Mrs Catt was joined by Miss Hay, Dr Shaw and Harriet May Mills and the four made an intensive organizing tour of Ohio The last of May, they went to Boston for the annual May Festival of the Massachusetts suffrage association in Faneuil Hall The tickets for these festivals were sold out weeks in advance as they were famed for their good speakers Mrs Catt was on the program for the banquet, Julia Ward Howe was presiding, Miss Anthony was sitting at the speakers table beside John Bright's daughter—a friend of many years standing

The Massachusetts anti's had recently sent a petition against votes for women to the legislature It was not a large petition but it included some very well known names, among them that of President Eliot of Harvard Nothing exasperated Mrs Catt more than seeing educators among the anti's She looked up the record of the presidents of Harvard as to their attitude to reform movements, sent her findings to Mr William Lloyd Garrison to be sure that they were correct, was told they were an under-statement! Thus fortified she went to Boston to the May Festival Her remarks at the banquet led up to the statement that it takes more than learning to make a mind liberal and progressive, that the great universities had seldom taken the lead in reform movements and had sometimes opposed them For instance, take Harvard, she said! Years before, a petition that witches be hunted down and apprehended had been circulated in Massachusetts, and it was signed by Jared Sparks, president of Harvard College A few years afterward people were ashamed of the witch craze She went on

When Daniel Webster made his great speech in Congress in defense of the Fugitive Slave Law, an address of thanks was sent to him, issued by several hundred leading citizens of Boston, and prominent among them was the president of Harvard College Twenty-five years later, there was not a slave in the United States nor in any civilized nation So when a petition against suffrage for women is sent to the Massachusetts Legislature, we need not be surprised—and certainly not discouraged—because we find among the signers the president of Harvard College!

This ironical tribute to Harvard and President Eliot in their home town brought down the house Mary A Livermore, seasoned spellbinder that she was, who followed Mrs Catt on the program, tried in vain to get started on her own dissertation and finally broke off with the frank confession, "It is not often that I am upset by a public speaker, but Mrs Catt has accomplished that feat!" *The Boston Globe*, reporting the Festival said

Chief among the speakers was Carrie Chapman Catt, successor to Miss Anthony She made the hit of the evening although there were eminent speakers on the program Hers is finished speech There isn't much left to talk about when she gets through There is never a slip of the tongue, no hesitancy, and her arguments are piled one on another like the charge of a judge to the jury The effect is irresistible And her stage presence is perfect, with a splendid voice to crown it all

As 1900 was a presidential year, the suffragists presented their usual request for suffrage planks in the party platforms at the national political conventions The Republicans met in Philadelphia and nominated McKinley and Roosevelt When Mrs Catt and her delegation appeared before the platform committee, Senator Fairbanks greeted them with the chilly remark, "Ladies, your time before the committee must be limited to ten minutes!" In St Louis at the Democratic convention, she was not given even ten minutes Both Bryan and McKinley when asked for a statement on votes for women said they "had not studied the question" To complete the bleak picture, the Prohibition Party and the Populists dropped woman suffrage from their platforms.

The national suffrage officers were invited by Miss Anthony to hold their mid-year board meeting at her home in Rochester, New York Mrs Catt prepared for this meeting a complete survey of the national organization—its membership, finances, leadership, she enumerated all the methods prescribed by state constitutions for winning the vote; outlined the political situation and prospects in each state. This mass of material, arranged for easy reference, was accompanied by a work program for each state It was the first time such a comprehensive statement had been made and it represented much time and research.

After three days with Miss Anthony, the members of the board moved on to the home of Mrs Lydia Avery Coonley Ward in Wyoming, New York, where they continued their meetings three days longer. A parlor was given over to them for indoor work, but most of their meetings were held outdoors beside a clear spring, surrounded by trees hanging full of fruit, with a magnificent view spread out before them. It was August, the weather was very hot, and despite the diversions provided by their attentive hostess, Miss Anthony had hard work to keep going. The Coonley Ward family was of patriarchal size—grandmother, mother, children, grandchildren. Twenty-seven sat down at table, the night the visitors arrived. The grandmother, Susan Look Avery, was an intimate friend of Miss Anthony, and the whole clan were generous supporters of the suffrage cause. It was not long after this meeting that Susan B. Anthony, tired by her exertions in connection with getting Rochester University opened to women students, suffered a slight apoplectic stroke while making a public speech.

The climax of her first year as president, the national suffrage bazaar brought more anxiety and hard work to Mrs. Catt than all her other activities combined. It was held in December in the old Madison Square Garden, then at the height of its glory, with the St. Gaudens Diana topping its tower. The state suffrage associations sponsored booths where products from their states were sold. Louisiana sold figs, pecans, pralines, open-kettle molasses and sugar cane; Dixie sold "Kentucky kivers," made by women who had raised and sheared the sheep, carded, spun, dyed the wool, and woven it on their looms, Utah sold bales of native silk, Florida sold citrous fruits and alligators; Idaho sent Indian antiques, Iowa contributed a carload of pigs—sold in Chicago, Kansas sent a carload of flour and two-hundred pounds of butter—sold in the form of fresh baked loaves, sliced and spread with the butter and eaten on the spot, or in sacks to be carried home, artists and writers contributed autographed pictures and books, the doll booth featured dolls sent by Mrs. McKinley and Mrs. Roosevelt. A unique Indian Doll was sent by a Sioux squaw, representing an Indian maid in buckskin and beads, the hair being provided by the scalp of a Crow Indian! There were

entertainment booths, restaurants, chairs to rest in. From time to time, Mrs. Catt took a spin around the hall with honored visitors in the "handsome \$700 automobile" which a Tarrytown firm had contributed. There was a speaking program every evening, and no gambling devices. When the week was over, the net proceeds amounted to \$10,000, a large sum for those days. The publicity value of the undertaking was great. One young woman after making the round of the hall was heard to say, "Well, nobody can say anything against suffrage after *this* show!"

### 3.

#### *Presidential Activities, 1901-1902*

The suffragists in Massachusetts and Connecticut were importuning their legislatures to submit the question to popular vote, and Mrs Catt went to Boston to speak at a legislative hearing early in the winter of 1901. The anti's, who had developed recently a love of hearings, asked to appear at this one, and there was a great crowd assembled at the State House when the speakers on both sides arrived. The suffragists' program was in charge of a young woman who was just coming into prominence in the Massachusetts movement, Mrs Maud Wood Park, destined later to play a national role. Mrs Catt spoke last. Her grave and lofty presence gave double significance to her words as she refuted the arguments of the opposition, who called themselves "remonstrants."

The remonstrant is no new thing in American history. Women first were told they should not speak in public—as these remonstrants have done today. Next, it was said that women should not organize—as these remonstrants have done. Then it was said that women should not receive a college education—as these women have. Some women have remonstrated against every step of progress, and these remonstrants here today are lineal descendants of those who opposed the very things they are now doing.

In Connecticut the women were pressing for submission of a municipal suffrage amendment. When Mrs Catt went to Hartford to speak at their hearing, she stayed at the home of Mrs Isabella Beecher Hooker, who was president of the state suffrage association. She was a stunning old lady who had been supported through life by the consciousness of her Beecher blood and its mission in the world. When she came into the suffrage movement shortly after the Civil War, it seemed to her quite fitting that she should an-

nounce to Mrs Stanton and Miss Anthony that she would take the suffrage convention off their hands that year, running it for them and avoiding their mistakes' Mrs Stanton, greatly amused and all for letting her do it, sent her \$100 toward expenses, but said she would be unable to attend the convention Far from being devastated by this deprivation, Mrs Hooker thanked her for the money and said she "could do without her on the platform"

Mrs Hooker was well along in years by this time, but her prestige and years of service kept her at the head of the Connecticut movement On their way to the Capitol, she rehearsed to Mrs Catt what she was going to say at the hearing She had prepared her statement carefully, it was brief and brilliant and had Beecher originality of phrase

The room in the Capitol was well filled when the speakers arrived, and when the hearing was opened, Mrs Hooker advanced to the table behind which the committee was sitting The sweeping garments of the period set off well her striking face, white curls, and fine eyes whose fire age had not quenched Her opening sentences came out clearly, splendidly phrased, leading on to the main argument, then suddenly she faltered; she had lost the continuity She became confused, broke off abruptly and introduced Mrs Catt Prepared by her experience in traveling with Miss Anthony for such a mishap as this, Mrs Catt took up Mrs Hooker's argument as the old lady had outlined it to her, gave it as well as she could in the Beecher words she had so admired, then went on to her own speech The committee recognized the skill of the practiced debater in the smooth transition The *Springfield Republican*, reporting the hearing next day, said

The attendance was exceedingly large Mrs Carrie Chapman Catt, President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, made a strong plea for the passage of the bill . It is no exaggeration to say that from both the oratorical and logical standpoints it exceeded anything which has been delivered in either House or Senate this session. . . She made a strong impression, and one legislator remarked, "If all women were like her, it would be safe to grant them the vote"





necessity of daily attendance there, and set her free for speeches at many summer assemblies. In September, the officers of the suffrage association were invited to hold their mid-year meeting at Roycroft, East Aurora, as guests of Elbert Hubbard and his wife. They had hardly arrived at Roycroft Inn, when news came of the assassination of President McKinley at the Pan American Exposition in Buffalo. The statement of the assassin that he had been moved to murder the President by hearing a speech by Emma Goldman, brought back to Mrs. Catt's mind her own meeting with the noted anarchist. This was at a Brooklyn suffrage club. Mrs. Catt was concluding her speech when she noticed a short, stocky, spectacled, young woman enter and take a seat well up front. As soon as Mrs. Catt sat down, the newcomer obtained the floor and started in on a rebuttal. Mrs. Catt was struck with the novelty of her anti-suffrage argument. She didn't believe in anybody's having the vote—man or woman! She began by saying, "I did not hear all that the speaker has been saying, but I suppose it was what all the suffragists say, and I disagree with it absolutely!" Then she launched forth into an attack on the whole theory of a democratic society. When she was through, she left the room without waiting for discussion. Mrs. Catt was told that Emma Goldman lived in Brooklyn and earned her living as a hairdresser. Mrs. Catt, curious to hear more of her theories, sought her out and engaged her for a few hair treatments, and while undergoing these she learned from Emma Goldman the principles of philosophical anarchism, which seemed to her doctrine and quite unrealistic.

### *The International Woman Suffrage Alliance*

It was inevitable that the woman suffrage movement with its universal appeal should have an international organization, which would add to its strength everywhere, and Mrs Catt had become convinced that the time was ripe for it. Soon after she became president of the suffrage association, she broached the subject to Miss Anthony, proposing that suffrage associations of other countries be invited to send representatives to Washington to consider the formation of an international woman suffrage alliance. Miss Anthony had sponsored the formation of the International Council of Women in the year 1888. The National American Woman Suffrage Association was a member of the International Council, but the Council, being composed of organizations representing many fields of women's endeavor, was not adapted to propaganda activities, while propaganda was the sole aim of the suffrage societies. Miss Anthony was in hearty sympathy with the proposal to form a suffrage international, as were also the other officers of the association, and Mrs Catt was authorized to take the preliminary steps and issue the invitations.

There were at that time only five national suffrage associations in existence, the National American being the oldest, followed in chronological order by the British, Australian, Norwegian and Dutch societies. The work of finding out what women to approach in countries where no national societies had been formed was enormous, and it fell entirely on Mrs Catt. In many cases, names were secured through foreign diplomats in this country and our own representatives in other countries. After more than a year spent in digging out information, invitations were sent out for a conference to be held in Washington, in connection with the annual con-

vention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, in February, 1902

The annual convention assembled and welcomed the nine foreign guests Mrs. Florence Fenwick Miller of Great Britain, Fraulein Antonie Stolle of Germany, Mrs Gudrun Drewson of Norway, Mrs Emmy Ewald of Sweden, Mrs Henni Forchammer of Denmark, Miss Florence Fensham, professor in the American College for Women in Constantinople, representing Turkey, Mrs Sophia Friedland of Russia, Miss Vida Goldstein of Australia, Senorita Carolina Huidobro of Chile All were women of prominence in their own countries, some of them occupying positions to which women in this country were not eligible For instance, Mrs Fenwick Miller was one of seven women on the London School Board, while the reform Mayor of New York had just declined to put a woman on the New York City Board of Education'

The foreign women made an excellent impression and were given a very favorable press They were varied and interesting personalities—the Scandinavians fair and dignified, Miss Goldstein alert and a good extempore speaker, Miss Stolle with artistic interests, Miss Huidobro of American and Dutch descent, a very able woman whose life was unhappily cut short not long afterward, Mrs Fenwick Miller, very British, experienced in public affairs, with facts and figures at instant command They were featured at the suffrage convention and at two Congressional hearings, and were received by President Theodore Roosevelt at the White House.

The international conference was opened by Mrs Catt, Miss Anthony was made chairman and Vida Goldstein secretary A committee headed by Mrs Miller was appointed to draw up a plan for international cooperation, and their recommendations were subsequently adopted

Miss Anthony was made chairman of the International Woman Suffrage Committee, Mrs Catt secretary, Mrs Fenwick Miller treasurer In her preliminary work for the conference, Mrs. Catt sent out a list of twenty-eight questions to various countries, covering the status of women in each, and she reported on the answers sent by

thirty-two of them. These were published in the official report of the conference, and formed the first collection of facts and statistics on the status of women throughout the world—invaluable as argument for woman's demand for a voice in making the laws under which she had to live.

The conference voted to form a permanent organization in connection with the meeting of the International Council of Women in Berlin in 1904, and authorized Mrs. Catt to go on with the business of forming it. She suggested that a declaration of principles be adopted, and Mrs. Avery, Mrs. Ewald and Miss Fensham drew up one which with some alteration was accepted.

In order to lighten the expenses of the foreign visitors and give them a wider hearing in this country, Mrs. Catt had secured lecture engagements for some of them. One of the lecture dates was in Auburn, New York, for Mrs. Fenwick Miller, who was to be entertained by Mrs. Eliza Wright Osborne, niece of Lucretia Mott and mother of Tom Osborne of prison reform fame. Mrs. Osborne was a great lady in Auburn, and for all her feminist views was a stickler for the social proprieties. She had learned from Mrs. Catt that Mrs. Fenwick Miller was one of seven women on the London School Board, and she had determined that Auburn should learn from the fountain-head just how far ahead of this country England was in the matter of school boards. Mrs. Osborne was a delegate to the suffrage convention and made her first appearance on the opening morning after the session had started. Casting her eyes toward the platform, she was petrified to see prominently ensconced there a sizeable figure clad in a morning sacque of such violent hue that Mrs. Osborne shuddered at the sight. She inquired from a bystander who the lady in the sacque was, and learned to her consternation that it was Mrs. Fenwick Miller! What, muttered Mrs. Osborne, must the London School Board look like when all the seven women members were present!

She sought Mrs. Catt at the first opportunity and told her she wished to cancel Mrs. Miller's lecture engagement. "Why, you can't do that!" said Mrs. Catt. "She is an important person and

you have made a business contract for a lecture and have invited her to stay at your house" "Very well," replied Mrs Osborne "She may come and stay at my house, but I am not going back to Auburn till that lecture is over!" And she kept her word On returning home after the departure of her guest, instead of the derision with which she had expected to be greeted by her antisuffrage friends, she was showered with sympathy because she had unluckily missed the visit to the city of the most interesting lecturer by far who had ever come there!

Mrs Stanton, as honorary president of the national suffrage association, was accustomed to send a written address to each annual convention in the last years of her life when she was unable to attend in person, and Miss Anthony read them although she was out of sympathy with her friend's crusade against the church The message which was sent to the Washington convention this year, however, had a new subject—the desirability of an educational test for the franchise When Miss Anthony saw what the message was about, she declined to read it "I don't believe in it and I won't read it," she said, as she handed it over to Clara Bewick Colby to read The message which Miss Anthony would not deliver proved to be the last that Mrs Stanton was to pen for a suffrage convention She was very infirm, her sight was failing and her sands were about run out A passage in Miss Anthony's diary gives a glimpse of the last visit she made to Mrs Stanton's home in New York

It seems good to be here, though Mrs Stanton does not feel quite as she used to We have grown a little apart since not so closely associated as of old She thinks the church is now the enemy to fight, and feels worried that I stay back with the children—as she says—instead of going ahead with her

The brilliant and indomitable old pioneer died in October, 1902, at the age of eighty-seven years Mrs Catt was on tour in the Far West when the news reached her, with the request that she speak at the memorial meeting for Mrs Stanton on her return to New York She realized as perhaps few others did the monumental services to the suffrage cause rendered by Mrs Stanton's brilliant and

weighty pen Her marshalling of fact and argument in suffrage state papers, her familiarity with judicial procedure and legal form, her mordant wit, and literary dignity were rated very high by the young leader Mrs Stanton reciprocated this esteem as various entries in her diary, commenting on occasional meetings with Mrs Catt, testify One of the entries with entirely unconscious irony mentions the fact that "Mr and Mrs *Chapman Catt*" had come to see her!

*Presidential Activities, 1902-1903*

Early in the third year of Mrs. Catt's presidency, she suffered an acute illness, following which the press reported that she had gone out to Montana "to recuperate" Her idea of "recuperating" was to send for Gail Laughlin and Laura Gregg, two young and husky organizers, to meet her in Helena, to start a rousing campaign throughout the state to get the legislature to submit the suffrage question to the voters They met the state officers and planned meetings in every town. Montana had many labor unions in the mining regions, to which Gail Laughlin's labor sympathies made her a welcome speaker Mrs Catt stayed in Helena two weeks, enlisted the cooperation of all the women's organizations, and addressed many meetings, then moved on to Butte and repeated the program there Altogether she was more than a month in the state, then went home, leaving Miss Gregg and Miss Laughlin to carry on the work during the summer Although Montana did not get the suffrage referendum she had hoped for, there were thirty new suffrage clubs to show for the summer's work

A good deal was being said and written at this time about the increasing proportion of women in colleges and the teaching profession Professor Hugo Muensterberg of Harvard published a series of articles in the *Atlantic Monthly* on American education, which among other things criticized the "feminization" of American schools Because of the controversial prominence of the subject, the National Education Association invited Mrs Catt to address its annual convention that summer The feminist leader went to the convention in Minneapolis with a carefully prepared speech, in which she began by enumerating recent antifeminist happenings in the educational field The Mississippi Legislature had debated



all winter closing the state university to women, Columbia undergraduates had objected to letting Barnard and Teachers' College girls use the college swimming pool one evening a week, Stanford University had limited its women students to 500, Adelbert College had shut its doors to women, Chicago University had segregated the girls in the two lower classes, President James of Northwestern had said that if women continued to increase in attendance at that institution, it would not be long before they would equal the men—"a condition which many of the friends of the University would view with concern" Girls for some years had been graduating from high schools in greater numbers than boys, and some educators who might properly have been concerned because so few boys were being turned out, thought it more fitting to lament because so many girls were graduating! She attributed this state of mind to a popular conviction that men's work is more important than women's, and therefore that men should have superior advantages and better remuneration If these educators really wished to restrict women's activities to the home, she said, the only way to go at it would be to raise home-making to the economic level of any other business And what a howl would go up if that were proposed! She laid the new antagonism of men students to women students in certain coeducational institutions at the door of their instructors A democracy, she said, depends for success upon an intelligent citizenry, and if more American girls than boys are going through the public schools, the world may soon behold the strange spectacle of a democratic government which disfranchises its better educated citizens

The *Journal of Education* in reporting the convention made the comment

Mrs Catt's speech was the most brilliant ever made by a woman on a National Association program It was inspiring The pity is that these most charming women orators are so rarely admitted to our programs.

The State of New Hampshire held a constitutional convention in December, 1902, and the New Hampshire suffragists asked for

and had been granted a hearing on the question of votes for women. Miss Mary N Chase, the Blackwells, father and daughter, and Mrs. Catt spoke in support of the petition for a referendum. Two days later, they were stunned to hear that their petition was granted! Woman suffrage would be submitted to the voters at the constitutional election which would take place the following March.

This was an unexpected—and to tell the truth, undesired—success. They had less than three months in which to do their campaigning, and that in the dead of winter. This, in a New England mountain state where the snowfall was heavy and the roads often blocked with drifts, presented grave difficulties.

Mrs. Catt took charge of the campaign, and in January went to Concord and opened headquarters in a vacant house provided by Mrs. Armenia White. Coal stoves were installed and sufficient furniture to equip the offices. She lived in a boarding house where many of the legislators took their meals, and walked back and forth to the headquarters often with snow up to her knees after a heavy storm. The floors were cold and she wore "arctics" to keep her feet warm.

She worked in the headquarters from Monday to Friday, and went out on speaking engagements over the week-ends. After the vast expanses and scattered population of the Rocky Mountain States, little New Hampshire looked like a pocket edition to her, but she found that the small town and rural New Englander was a tough man to convert to new ideas. She imported fifteen speakers and routed them over the state. During January and February, they took more sleigh rides with hot soapstones at their feet and mountains of wraps and robes about them than in all the rest of their lives—and those still were the days of horse drawn vehicles. Many churches and schools were closed on account of the unusually cold winter, and in such communities no meetings could be held. At the election in March, the suffrage amendment polled 14,000 votes for, 21,000 votes against.

It was not strange that in a conservative state, with a hurried and inadequate campaign, the result should be adverse. But Mrs.

Catt was repeatedly warned by politicians of both parties that no matter how vigorous a campaign the suffragists put up, they never would win the election—that elections in New Hampshire had to be paid for! This state of affairs went back to Civil War days when so many voters were away in the army that loyal men at home, in order to insure the reelection of Lincoln, bought the votes of malcontents and trouble makers. After that, the evil precedent was exploited by the worst elements in both parties to exact tribute. They got so brazen in time that they expected to be paid for voting for their own party! Mrs. Catt asked a party chairman why the two parties did not get together to stop the practice? He laughed and said they had tried it at one election, announcing beforehand that neither party was going to pay for votes. Whereupon the “floaters,” as they were called, got up a ticket of their own and elected it! <sup>9</sup>

This picture of politics in New England, emphasized by her memory of seeing voters paid at the polls in South Dakota, and by the confession of the Arizona legislator who told her he was forced to break his promise to support the suffrage bill or else have his business ruined, made a deep impression on Mrs. Catt. She realized that you could not beat machines which had money to spend, except by building a better machine with something more powerful than money behind it. She had been building up an organization for years, putting everything she had into it, and she saw now that it was not good enough—not able to cope with organized political parties, to say nothing of the vast economic interests behind the parties, and the underworld which was permitted by both to exist. What would be good enough? How could a disfranchised class compel its masters to share their power? She left New Hampshire, pondering that crucial problem in her mind. Seven years later, after long preparation, she was ready with the answer.

Without interval for rest, she went from New Hampshire to New Orleans, where the national suffrage convention met the latter

<sup>9</sup> *Politics and Woman Suffrage*, Catt and Shuler, p. 166-7

part of March. Conventions in the South always were troubled by intrusion of the race question and her diplomatic gifts were taxed to the full to preserve harmony. Some said, "We are afraid if we come into your association that colored clubs may some day be let in, and that we shall find ourselves obliged to meet colored women on a basis of equality." On the other hand, she received adjurations to "take a stand for unrestricted universal suffrage—white and black alike."

As this was the time of heavy foreign immigration, easy naturalization papers, and flagrant manipulation of the immigrant vote in the industrial states, suffragists were divided on the question of admission of these newcomers to voting citizenship almost as strongly as on the colored vote. The last day of the New Orleans convention was featured by a discussion of an educational qualification for the vote, by which device the two controversial issues were considered together. When a vote was taken, all but five delegates voted for the educational qualification, Charlotte Perkins Gilman being the only person on the platform to vote against it. A month later, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes was to hand down the opinion of the United States Supreme Court upholding the educational clause in the Alabama Constitution, which in effect disfranchised Negroes and opened the way for other Southern states to take similar action.

The quality of the speeches and debates at the New Orleans convention was a perpetual astonishment to the Southern audiences. Kate Gordon with great relish told of overhearing one woman say, after listening to Mrs. Catt's annual address, "I am certain that that speech was written by Mr. Catt! It was not a woman's speech." Whereupon Mrs. Catt remarked that she had heard several visitors agree among themselves that *all* the speeches had been written by husbands, and she inquired of Gail Laughlin, who was unmarried, who had written her speech?

The summer of 1903 was for Mrs. Catt the beginning of a period of profound and far reaching changes. Kate Gordon, who had been managing the national headquarters in New York, was

called home to New Orleans by the illness of her mother. The headquarters soon afterward were transferred to Warren, Ohio, where Harriet Taylor Upton lived, and Mrs Upton was put in charge. While this relieved Mrs Catt of one care, she was troubled by new anxieties. Her mother was in ill health and her husband was feeling the strain of the large business he had built up. After talking matters over with Mr Catt, she decided to retire from office at the next national convention. They both felt that life would be easier if they disposed of their Bensonhurst home and came into New York to live. Accordingly, they sold the house with most of the furniture in it, as they did when they left Seattle, and moved to an apartment on West 57th Street, New York.

Harriet Taylor Upton, writing for *The Woman's Journal*, commented on the change:

Mr and Mrs Catt have sold their beautiful home at Bensonhurst. In this house, the Business Committee have held important meetings, here organizers have come to talk over plans with the Chairman of the Organization Committee, and afterwards with the President [of the Association]; here tired suffragists have rested after arduous labors, here, after the International Woman Suffrage Conference in 1902, a house party was entertained, the guests representing England, Germany, Australia, and the States of Ohio and California, and all have found welcome, comforts and good cheer. Many, very many, will have occasion to remember this house with pleasure, and not a few will feel sadness that it has been sold.

Mrs Catt is planning to take a short vacation, the first she has had since she became identified with the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and the first she has ever had, for aught the writer knows.

These words found an echo in many hearts, for Bensonhurst had been a shelter in time of storm to suffragists in trouble, some of whom had been real cares to their hostess.

After disposing of their home, Mr and Mrs Catt took their first trip to Europe, spending most of the time in France and Italy. Mr. Catt was well acquainted with the commercial and financial history of Venice during its period of supremacy. Their stay in the famous and beautiful old city was therefore of special interest to him, while his wife found herself recalling fragments of poetry,

learned in childhood and retaining their old enchantment amid these scenes

I stood in Venice on the Bridge of Sighs  
A thousand years their cloudy wings expand  
In Venice Tasso's echoes are no more,  
And silent rows the songless gondolier

She had outgrown her love of poetry, but she had not forgotten all of it by any means. When she wished to make a point stick, oftener than not it was Shakespeare who phrased it for her.

In the fall, after her return from Europe, Mrs. Catt called a meeting of the officers of the national suffrage association. This time she had no spacious home for them to come to, and Dr. Shaw invited them to meet at her home in Mount Airy, Philadelphia. With the exception of Mrs. Coggeshall of Des Moines, all the officers were present. Miss Anthony, now in her eighty-third year, came from Rochester, Miss Blackwell from Boston, Mrs. Upton from Warren, Laura Clay from Lexington, Kentucky, Kate Gordon from New Orleans. After other business had been attended to, Mrs. Catt announced her retirement from office at the coming convention. When all efforts to persuade her to reconsider failed, the depressed officers separated, having on their hands the business of choosing her successor. It had not been hard to find a successor to Susan B. Anthony, four years before, for the head of the Organization Committee was the real director of the association. It was another matter to find a successor to the brilliant leader who was now retiring.

It was eighteen years since that rainy evening in San Francisco when she vowed to devote her life to making women workers safe and respected. She was now in her forty-fifth year, practiced in all the arts of leadership, adored by her young followers, without a rival to challenge her preeminence. But her health was visibly impaired, and she could no longer discount her anxiety about the health of her husband and mother, both of whom depended upon her care. She announced her resignation from the presidency of

the association early in January, 1904, in *The Woman's Journal* as follows

I desire to announce the fact that I shall not stand for reelection to the presidency of the National American Woman Suffrage Association at the coming convention in Washington. The importance of the office requires that careful consideration should be given to the election of my successor, and for this reason I make the announcement publicly and in due season.

I have no intention of retiring from suffrage work, although I find that rest from the responsibilities of the office have become necessary. This alone is my reason for wishing to withdraw my name at this time. Whatever of strength or ability I may have is first, last, and all the time consecrated to this cause, which is dearer than all others to me, and I shall hope to continue to labor as a private under the leadership of the board of officers selected by the convention.

The announcement created consternation in the ranks of the association. Anna Howard Shaw, who was the logical successor, was dependent on lecturing for a livelihood and therefore could not give herself unreservedly to the office as Mrs. Catt had done. She was the administration candidate and was elected without opposition, when the convention assembled in Washington in February, 1904.

The death of Mark Hanna, "the king-maker," a disastrous fire in Baltimore, and the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war were absorbing the public attention so that the suffrage meeting was quite overshadowed. The delegates, however, found the progress chronicled by all the speakers most encouraging. A balance of \$12,000 was left in the treasury by Mrs. Catt for her successor to carry on with, the suffrage membership and club lists had grown tremendously under her energetic care, a sizable corps of young state organizers and officers were trained to carry on the work. Her president's address summarized the status of the movement throughout the world. Women were voting for the first time on a nation-wide scale in Australia, they had limited franchise in Great Britain, Ireland and New Zealand, in America, four states had full suffrage, and several others had a partial suffrage, here in the United States we were passing through a reactionary period in politics; the 18-

norant foreign-born voter was exploited by designing politicians, the Negro had been disfranchised in several Southern states, one of the most frequent objections to enfranchising women was that it would "double the ignorant vote" She mentioned the lobbies of the railroad, mining, oil, manufacturing and liquor interests in state and national capitols, quoting an alleged remark by a railroad president, "We don't buy votes at the polls, we let the voters elect legislatures and then we buy the legislatures"

The Senate and House Committees presented Mrs Catt with 25,000 copies of the suffrage hearings, but they did not bring in reports to Congress President Theodore Roosevelt received the delegates at the White House on Susan B Anthony's eighty-fourth birthday, but he returned a non-committal answer to her plea that he support their demand for a Federal amendment During his administration, the struggle to bring "big business" under government control engrossed the progressive forces It would be difficult to cite another period in American history when the nation was more friendly to political reform, and less friendly to the enfranchisement of women



PART IV

*International Work: 1904-1914*



## *The International Woman Suffrage Alliance*

The ten years following Mrs Catt's retirement from leadership of the American suffrage movement were devoted by her to building up the International Woman Suffrage Alliance. During those years the Alliance which began with eight branches increased until it numbered twenty-five. In accomplishing this result Mrs Catt traversed Europe many times, and in 1911 and 1912 made a tour around the world. Her visit to the Middle East and Far East was a veritable feminist voyage of discovery in which she had to seek out and make her own contacts as best she could, for she had nothing to go by. She reached China hard upon the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty, and nothing in her life was more profoundly moving than her discovery of the heroic women of the Chinese Revolution. Everywhere she went she found women stirring with a demand for personal freedom and ready to range themselves in a world movement.

It will be recalled that at the meeting in Washington in 1902, at which it was voted to form the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, a temporary committee was set up to make arrangements and call a congress of the Alliance in Berlin in 1904, in connection with the quinquennial meeting of the International Council of Women. Mrs Catt as secretary of the temporary committee and the one who had done the work of getting up the Washington meeting went ahead with negotiations and correspondence which resulted in the issuance of the call to the Berlin congress, and Susan B. Anthony agreed to act as presiding chairman throughout the meeting.

When the German suffragists heard that Miss Anthony, who was then eighty-four years of age, would preside over the congress

they were filled with enthusiasm. There was a law in Germany which forbade women to belong to political organizations, and the only way a national suffrage association could be formed there was by organizing it as a society of the Free City of Hamburg, which had certain historic privileges *verboden* elsewhere. It was this society, with a membership all over Germany, which acted as hostess to the International Woman Suffrage Alliance.

The delegations to the congress assembled in Berlin in June, the week before the International Council quinquennial. Although the older organization quite overshadowed the Alliance in size, prestige, and length of program, the suffrage meeting captured the lion's share of the publicity. Votes for Women was a radical movement in 1904, and Susan B. Anthony's name had gone round the world. The Council of Women leaders were not pleased with Mrs. Catt for running her convention in ahead of theirs, with Miss Anthony as guest of honor, but as Mrs. May Wright Sewell, president of the Council, was a suffragist and knew that Miss Anthony could not be hauled off from the suffrage congress by force or persuasion, she acquiesced, but at the same time she exacted a promise that the old leader should not make a public speech until she did so at the quinquennial.

As it was the first appearance of the international suffrage movement in Europe, the opening session of the Alliance aroused no little interest, and when Miss Anthony called the meeting to order the European delegates were startled to see a long table below the speaker's desk lined with press reporters. Fearing sensational reports of their meeting, Dr. Aletta Jacobs of Holland rose and with the best of intentions made the first motion of the congress—which was that all reporters be excluded from the hall! A lively debate ensued, in which Miss Anthony presently intervened.

My friends, [she said in her strong, matter-of-fact voice] what are we here for? We have come from many countries, we have traveled thousands of miles, to form an organization for a great international work. Do we want to keep it a secret from the public? No! Welcome to all reporters who want to come! Let all we say and do here be told far and wide! Instead of excluding reporters, let us help them to all the information we can, and ask them to give it the widest possible publicity.

The reporters burst into vociferous applause, which spread throughout the convention, Dr Jacobs herself joining with great good humor

Mrs Catt had been deputed to present Miss Anthony with a gavel sent by the women of Wyoming, first state to grant political equality to women. It was made of Wyoming wood and silver, and in presenting it she told of her difficulty in getting it through the German customs office. Having never seen a gavel, the officials regarded it with dark suspicion which was not dissipated by her explanation that it was used to preserve order, and her demonstration by striking the table with it! They had heard of Carrie Nation and her hatchet! European meetings were called to order with a handbell. After going through her luggage to see that she had but one, they finally admitted the Wyoming gavel and Susan B Anthony used it in opening the Berlin congress.

It was Mrs Catt's first experience with a meeting conducted in three languages—English, French and German—and she was filled with admiration of Dr Kathe Schirmacher's proficiency in translating the proceedings into the official tongues, but she was appalled at the slowing down of the program entailed by it. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, who was a delegate and to whom speed of thought was the breath of life, writing of the meeting said

The wonder is, not that there is misunderstanding and delay, but that so much is understood and accomplished. The advance of women in all lines is one of the most rapid movements the world has ever seen. To the historical spectator it shows railroad swiftness, but to those who are in it it seems more like a canal boat.

One of Mrs Catt's duties was the instilling into some of the delegates an elementary knowledge of Roberts' *Rules of Order*, a subject of which they were as innocent as the fowls of the air. At the close of the congress, a permanent organization had been effected and officers elected. Susan B Anthony, honorary president, Mrs Catt, president, Dr Anita Augspurg of Germany, Mrs Millicent Garrett Fawcett of England, vice presidents, Rachel Foster Avery, secretary, Dr Kathe Schirmacher of France and Johanna Naber of Holland, assistant secretaries; Miss Rodger Cunliffe of England,

treasurer The Alliance was officially launched with eight affiliated branches in Australia, Denmark, Germany, Great Britain, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and the United States, while Austria, Finland and Hungary applied for admission as soon as organizations could be effected

There was no doubt about the caliber of the European delegates, who included in addition to those already mentioned Frau Minna Cauer of Germany, Dr Aletta Jacobs of Holland, Mrs Johanne Munter and Mrs Charlotte Norrie of Denmark, and Mrs Anna Wicksell of Sweden The Americans included besides Miss Anthony and Mrs Catt, Lucretia Blankenburg, Mrs Mary Wood Swift, Ida Husted Harper, Anna Howard Shaw and Charlotte Perkins Gilman The audiences at the public meetings of the congress were dazzled by the speeches, Dr Shaw quite sweeping them off their feet Among the reporters taking notes on the proceedings was a Hungarian girl named Rosika Schwimmer, who had been brought from Budapest by her uncle to help him report the two feminist conventions for a press syndicate The uncle introduced himself and his niece to Mrs Catt with the announcement that Rosika was going home to organize a suffrage association so that Hungary could come into the Alliance The gifted and enthusiastic girl carried out her resolution, and as a result the International Alliance was invited to Budapest some years later to hold its congress

After the congress, Mrs Catt remained in Berlin for the meeting of the International Council of Women It was her first experience with the way such immense gatherings were managed in Europe Far more attention was paid to social entertainment than in America, there was more ceremony and less business transacted The German Government showed the visiting feminists more attention than they would have been accorded by the American Government in similar circumstances They were received by the German Empress at the Royal Palace with more than official politeness, were tendered a magnificent garden party by Chancellor von Buelow, were entertained at the City Hall by the municipal government with

pomp and circumstance, and there were many other festivities. One of the receptions was given by Berlin club women, at which it was stated all the official hostesses were Doctors of Philosophy! The Germany of 1904 was militaristic and regimented, but there was a healthy and active woman movement which held great promise. Compared with the dark repression of German women today, the era of "Kinder, Kuchen, Kirche" seems benign and civilized.

When the feminist conventions were over, Mrs. Catt went on a trip through Germany with Miss Anthony and her sister Mary, their niece Lucy Anthony and Dr. Anna Howard Shaw. At that time, German universities were training the scientists and scholars of all nations and Miss Anthony's party were delighted to receive an invitation to visit Heidelberg where they were shown through the university by German friends. One of them was a professor in the famous old school who took pleasure in telling the American guests its history and explaining the system under which it operated. It appeared to be a matter of indifference to the faculty whether the students attended lectures or not, whether they learned anything or not. It was sufficient that they could learn if they wanted to! The professor spoke with great satisfaction of the admirable training university life afforded the future leaders of Germany and he took them to one of the corps dueling halls and explained the institution of the duel.

As she listened, Mrs. Catt contrasted the life led by German students with her life as a student at Iowa State College, earning her way by washing dishes and helping in the library, while George Catt mowed lawns and stoked furnaces instead of filling himself with beer and fighting duels!

At the end of the German trip Miss Anthony and her party went to Vevey, Switzerland, while Mrs. Catt went to London, where she was met by her husband and toured the British Isles before returning home. From this time, her interest was increasingly centered on the international movement. Later in the year, Dr. Aletta Jacobs and her husband, Mr. H. V. Garritson, Member of the Netherlands Parliament, came to America to attend a meeting of the Interparlia-

mentary Union in St. Louis, and were entertained by Mr. and Mrs. Catt during their stay in New York. The Interurban Suffrage Council of Greater New York gave a luncheon for the Dutch visitors. In introducing Dr. Jacobs as the pioneer of feminism in her own country, Mrs. Catt told of her being the first girl to be graduated from a high school, and the first woman to obtain a medical degree and practice as a physician in Holland. Like Susan B. Anthony, Aletta Jacobs had tried to vote, but the similarity of the two incidents ended there, for in Miss Anthony's case, the government brought suit and secured a judgment against her, while Dr. Jacobs brought suit against the Dutch Government for denying her right to vote and carried it through to the highest court! On losing the case, she utilized the publicity she had obtained for the purpose of organizing the woman suffrage association of the Netherlands.

Another famous foreigner was visiting America this same year, Catherine Breshkovskaia, Russian humanitarian and revolutionist, discovered some years before in the depths of Siberia where she was spending twenty-five years in exile, by George Kennan, who published her heroic story in an American magazine. Prominent among the American sympathizers who brought her to this country was Alice Stone Blackwell who did much to make her visit a success. Breshkovskaia was lionized throughout her stay, and many anecdotes were told of her frank spontaneity. She dressed very plainly in peasantlike clothes, and while she was in Chicago she was entertained in a palatial home and given a reception to which the guests came arrayed in purple and fine linen. One of the last to arrive was Dr. Cornelia DeBey, well known Chicago physician who always wore tailored suits. As soon as the Russian caught sight of her she made a bee line for the doctor, whom she never had seen before, threw her arms around her and whispered urgently in her ear, "I want to go home with you!" Needless to say, she went.

Somebody asked Mrs. Catt what she thought of Mme. Breshkovskaia and received the emphatic reply, "She's one of the world's greatest!" She was deeply stirred by the picture of a social system where the only hope for justice lay in revolution. It was a picture



she was to behold with her own eyes in another part of the world, some years later, with the heroic women of another race involved

Mrs Catt gave a course of lectures on "Women from the Standpoint of Evolution" at the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences during the winter of 1904 and 1905. In the spring she went to Charles City to visit her mother, and from there to Portland, Oregon, to attend the national suffrage convention, the first since her retirement from the presidency of the suffrage association. Oregon was to have its third referendum on the woman suffrage question, that fall—it was to have six before the vote was won—and Mrs Catt was importuned on all sides to come out and direct the campaign. In declining the invitation, she disclosed for the first time an anxiety to which she had been a prey for some time.

All I have done for the suffrage cause during the last fifteen years, [she wrote the committee] I have been enabled to do by my husband's generosity. I know he would consent without hesitation to my going out to Oregon but the heavy cares and responsibilities of his great business have worn his health, till now, though he is still in his prime, he looks like an old man. I should dearly love to undertake the work in Oregon, but my husband needs me now, and is going to need me more and more, and I will not leave him

## 2.

### *Bereavement*

One day in September, a few weeks after the foregoing words were penned, Mrs Catt, who had been working at her desk until late in the afternoon, felt the need of exercise and started for a walk in Central Park. Outside the hotel, she met her husband coming wearily home. He joined her and they walked a little way into the park, sat down on a bench and talked awhile. It was their last walk together. Next morning, disregarding her entreaty that he remain at home, he went as usual to his office. Mrs Catt had an appointment to speak at a meeting at the Astor Hotel that afternoon and was sitting on the platform when Miss Hay brought her a message that Mr Catt had been taken ill and she must come home at once. She left the meeting and hastened uptown, arriving before the ambulance which brought her husband from his office. As he was carried into the apartment, there was no need to be told that he was desperately ill. An immediate consultation of surgeons and the family physician diagnosed it as a case of gallstones and recommended an immediate operation. This last revealed fatal involvements. He stayed at the hospital awhile, then was brought home where he died on the eighth of October, 1905. One of the first persons to be notified was Susan B. Anthony, who was deeply affected by the passing of this incomparable friend to her cause. Ida Husted Harper in her biography of Miss Anthony writes:

She was terribly shocked and grieved to receive a message on October 8 announcing the death of Mr George W. Catt, only forty-five years of age. In addition to her high regard for him as a personal friend, she mourned him as an earnest supporter of the cause of woman suffrage and as an ideal husband who had loyally sustained his wife in her years of service as an officer of the National Association.

The tributes which came from friends and associates throughout the country and overseas testified to Mr Catt's brilliant success in his profession as engineer and his achievements as a business executive. Liberal in mind, scientific in training, strict and yet generous in his dealings with his fellowmen, few men cut off in their prime have left a more solid record of initiative and attainment. The loneliness of the apartment on West 57th Street after his death was unbearable to his wife, and she moved to a hotel where Miss Hay came to stay with her, the arrangement proving so congenial that they lived together for many years thereafter.

The death of Susan B. Anthony would have been a great blow to Mrs. Catt at any time, but coming as it did soon after the loss of her husband it was felt with exceptional intensity. She had seen the old leader and helped celebrate her eighty-sixth birthday a month before at the Baltimore convention of the suffrage association, when Miss Anthony, Julia Waid Howe and Clara Barton, all three in their eighties, sat together on the platform. Miss Anthony and Mrs. Howe both were taken ill during the convention, the former returning to Rochester where her death occurred soon after. Of all the women closely associated with Miss Anthony, none had a profounder appreciation of her greatness and a truer veneration of her as symbolic of the cause she had championed than had Miss Anthony's chosen successor. Certainly no other person had a higher place in Mrs. Catt's esteem. Throughout her life, whenever she mentioned Susan B. Anthony's name, there was a shade of respect in her tone accorded no one else.

She went to Rochester to speak with Anna Howard Shaw, William Lloyd Garrison, Jr., and Dr. C. C. Albertson at the funeral, which was held in the largest church in the city. In her eulogy, printed in full in *The Woman's Journal*, Mrs. Catt paid tribute to Miss Anthony's unconditional dedication of herself to one increasing purpose.

This woman for a large part of half a century was the chief inspiration, counselor and guide of our movement. There were great women associated with her from time to time, women of wonderful intellect, of superb power,

of grand character, yet she was clearly the greatest of them all, the greatest woman of our century, perhaps the greatest of all time We shall never see her like again

The summer following Miss Anthony's death was filled with anxiety for Mrs Catt on account of the breakdown in health of her younger brother, Will Lane, and the increasing invalidism of her mother Young Lane, whose childhood and education she had watched over with devoted care, had married and gone to the Philippines in the employ of Mr. Catt, when the latter's company secured the contract for improving Manila Harbor There he had fallen victim to an obscure tropical disease which necessitated his giving up his work and coming home in search of medical help Mrs Catt took the young couple into her New York apartment for a time and obtained the best professional advice for her brother But nothing availed and in September, 1907, he died Mrs Catt was at that time in Charles City in attendance upon her mother during the last months of her fatal illness, and it fell to her to go to Olney, Illinois, where her brother had died, and bring his body to Charles City for burial.

Three months later, Mrs Lane died at the age of seventy-four years In the space of two years, death had taken the four persons nearest and dearest to Mrs Catt, husband, revered leader, mother and brother, but there is a stoical endurance in the words she wrote to a friend

As I look back over this past year, I find myself grateful that I have had work to do and that I have been able to do it, although in poor fashion When I look forward, I hope only that work may always be ready for me and that I may have strength to do it so long as I remain here

She returned to New York to an apartment she had recently taken in a fine new building at 2 West 86th Street, a spacious and beautiful home overlooking Central Park Here she gathered her library and household goods about her once more, and here she and Miss Hay were to live for the next ten years

### 3.

#### *Copenhagen Congress, 1906*

The years 1905 and 1906 were a time of feminist stir in many parts of the world. In France, the Sorbonne appointed Mme Curie to the vacancy on the faculty left by the death of her husband and gave her the honor of delivering the opening lecture of the season. It was an unprecedented day for women when, standing before a lecture hall packed with professors and students, the Polish scientist took a small object from a box she held in her hand, ordered the lights out, and there in the darkness glowed a tiny spark—the unearthly gleam of radium! The thunder of applause which followed acclaimed one of the great scientific discoveries of all time. In Italy, women made an effort to vote and in one province were upheld by the courts. In Finland, a revolutionary government gave full suffrage to women, the first European government to take that step. In Russia, the feminist movement led by fearless and able women was closely linked with the revolutionary demand for a Duma and constitutional government. In England, the suffrage cause saw its first explosion of militancy in a demonstration in the House of Commons. On the other side of the world, there was much activity in New Zealand and Australia where women could vote and where they were now demanding the right to sit in Parliament. Most extraordinary manifestation of all, a redoubtable Dowager Empress of China issued a decree forbidding the binding of women's feet.

Such portents gave a particular interest to the second congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance which was to meet in Copenhagen in the summer of 1906. Denmark was selected as the place of meeting because it was the only Scandinavian country which had granted no form of franchise to women, and Mrs Catt went to Copenhagen three months in advance of the congress to

make preliminary arrangements. She was accompanied by Miss Hay and Ida Husted Harper, the latter being press correspondent for a number of American newspapers. In June, after preparations for the meeting were well started, the three went for a trip into Norway. This little country had just separated from Sweden and chosen a Danish prince, with the title Haakon VII, as its king. Owing to incredible common sense on the part of the Swedish Government, this event had not precipitated a war, but nevertheless there was a noticeable tension in the air.

On her return from Norway, Mrs. Catt learned that an interview had been arranged for her with Queen Louise of Denmark. This lady had won the respect of all the Scandinavian countries by her dignity and fairness during the recent political readjustments, for her position was peculiarly trying owing to the fact that she was daughter of a King of Sweden as well as mother of the new King of Norway. When Mrs. Catt heard that she was to go unaccompanied to call on the Queen, and realized that the Danish suffragists were relying on her to make a good impression and to enlist the Queen's friendly interest in the approaching congress, she sought advice as to procedure. She learned what to wear to a morning interview, what kind of carriage to go in, how long she might be expected to stay, and something was said about young Norwegian women usually offering to kiss the Queen's hand on being presented, a salute not required of Americans of course!

Hoping that she would be able to read the royal signs, Mrs. Catt at the appointed hour went to the Palace. She was received and ushered immediately into a drawing room where a tall woman dressed in deep mourning, with two rings as her only ornament, came to meet her with hand extended and a cordial greeting expressed in excellent English. The Queen was considerably older than her visitor, and her fine face was expressive of a sorrow which the court mourning for the late King, her father-in-law, did not explain. She disclosed that she had recently lost a beloved daughter whom she had not been allowed to see during her last illness, because of the danger of contagion.

In the course of the conversation she asked with obvious interest about the connection between the suffrage movement and other reforms, saying that her own efforts had been engaged in furthering nursing and education. The talk turned to the English militant movement about which the Queen was well informed and expressed the opinion that no movement could be held responsible for the extremists within its ranks. In terminating the interview which lasted well over an hour she expressed regret that court mourning would not permit her to receive the delegates to the Alliance congress, and it was not till she was on her way back to the hotel that Mrs. Catt recalled that remark about "offering" to kiss the Queen's hand.

Mrs. Catt found it easier to write letters by hand than to struggle with Danish secretaries. She had asked to have reports from the national branches sent to her in advance of the congress so that they could be translated for the minutes, and she also requested advance biographical notes about the speakers which could be given to the press. Some of the personal sketches received in reply to the latter request came in alleged English.

I shall be pleased to give some dates on my person, but my report I will give ordinarily as I speak only free.

Another biographical note remarked of its subject

She is very soft, and every man who knows her likes her, but she can be very enraged for truth and justice.

The congress met the second week in August in the Concert Hall of Copenhagen, and welcomed four new branches to the Alliance—Canada, Hungary, Italy, and Russia. Stirring events had taken place since the congress met in Berlin which led to dramatic scenes in the Copenhagen meeting. Annie Furuhjelm of Finland, an outstanding figure at the congress, told with fiery eloquence of the general strike in Finland which ended in separation from Russia and virtual autonomy for her country, and the proclamation of a democratic government and universal franchise. Miss Furuhjelm had been born in Alaska when her father was the last Russian Governor of the province, and when it was purchased by the United States she made the long journey to Europe with her family, traveling by carriage across

six thousand miles of Siberian waste Her story of the Finnish revolution and the enfranchisement of women received a great ovation

In grim contrast was the story brought by Mme Zeneide Mirovitch of the failure of the revolution in Russia which took place at the same time as the Finnish uprising The hopes of Russian women for the franchise were centered on the election of a Duma or national assembly, consent to which was wrung from the Czar The Russian Women's Union used the election as a means to spread propaganda for women's rights, and they campaigned with such ardor that in a year and a half, seventy-nine locals with a membership of many thousands were added to the Union The Duma received many petitions urging extension of votes to women, one of which was read by Mme Mirovitch to show the spirit of independence inspiring the movement

We peasant women of the Government of Tver [this petition read] write to the Imperial Duma We are told you can change the law Then tell the Duma that all must be admitted to the Duma—rich and poor, *men and women* Otherwise there will be no peace in family life Formerly we had the same rulers as our husbands Now we hear that our husbands are going to write the laws for us This is unjust, it is an offense to us women They do not understand what we want

We are uneducated women and beg to be forgiven if we have not written well We do not write our names for fear of our husbands and our rulers There are old women among us and girls also from three villages

This document was written by a girl of thirteen, the only person in her village who could read and write

Just before the Russian delegation to the congress set out for Copenhagen, the Duma was dissolved by the Czar, all its acts were nullified, the revolution was crushed and savage reaction took its place Mme. Mirovitch, leader of the Russian Women's Union, finished her report of the movement which had been so suddenly suppressed with the words:

Progress is now stopped in Russia; we are again face to face with our worst enemies However, we shall not give up We shall strive and work as hard as before for the great cause of Progress and Liberty.



That night, a formal banquet was given for the foreign guests by the Danish women, during which the national anthem of each branch of the Alliance was played while everybody stood up and cheered the delegation so saluted. After several national airs had been played and applauded, the band struck into the most magnificent hymn of them all, during which the banqueters dutifully rose, but a dead silence followed. Miss Catt did not recognize the air, but was told, "It is the Russian Hymn—and look at the Russian delegation! They won't acknowledge it!" There the Russians sat, fixed in their chairs, staring straight before them with set faces in the embarrassed hush while the other guests resumed their seats.

This was not the only occasion when the congress skated over thin ice. A Danish lady living in Schleswig-Holstein, one of the provinces which had been forcibly taken away from Denmark by Germany in a recent war, blandly made the statement that if German women had had the vote at the time of the Schleswig-Holstein War, the German armies would not have dared commit so many atrocities in the conquered provinces. Whereupon the German delegation, considering their country insulted, rose in a body and stalked out of the hall. A bevy of horrified Danish women flew after them and had the greatest difficulty in persuading them to remain for the rest of the congress.

The English delegation, too, had a tense hour when the question of admitting the Women's Social and Political Union, better known as the militant suffragettes, came before the congress. As their methods at this time were comparatively mild, there was considerable sentiment for receiving them into the Alliance. The National Union of Suffrage Societies in Great Britain, however, a charter member of the Alliance, opposed their admission on tactical grounds, and Mrs Fawcett's speech explaining the National Union's position was an admirable example of British fair play. Even as she opposed the admission of the militants because of their tactics, she said they were only doing what men had done in Great Britain time out of mind.

Every extension of suffrage (in Britain) [she said] has been obtained not only by philosophical argument, but by revolution and breaking of

palings as well, and the rough methods (of the militants) so much commented upon by the press may very probably prove their value

After discussion, it was decided that militant tactics were too unpredictable to be endorsed by the Alliance and it was voted to receive representatives of militant organizations as fraternal delegates instead of full members of the congress

The official seal of the Alliance designed by Johanna Pedersen, a Danish sculptor, was adopted at this congress, and the official paper published in Amsterdam was christened "Jus Suffragii" Shortly after the congress closed, the government granted municipal suffrage and eligibility to the women of Denmark

So many invitations were pressed upon Mrs Catt to visit the countries represented in the Alliance, that she proposed to Dr Aletta Jacobs of Holland that they tour the Austrian Empire together Dr Jacobs agreed, and after a strenuous three weeks spent with Rachel Foster Avery in getting the minutes of the Copenhagen congress printed, Mrs Catt went to Berlin for a few days of much needed rest There she was joined by Dr Jacobs, and the two set forth Their itinerary took them to Prague, Brunn and Vienna where they were guests of German women's societies, and to Budapest where they were entertained by the newly organized Hungarian suffrage association

Their first meeting in Prague began at six o'clock and lasted till eight, after which the speakers and invited guests sat down to a hot supper This was the procedure everywhere they went in Austria and Mrs Catt approved of it entirely The American custom of holding meetings immediately after the dinner hour, so that speakers either had to refrain from eating or else run the risk of making a poor speech, had long been abhorred by her Austrian platform arrangements, however, were less agreeable There was a long table covered with a cloth which hung to the floor, behind which she and Dr Jacobs, Frau Wiechowski who presided over the meeting, a huge policeman in uniform and helmet, and a professor from the German University of Prague, were all seated in a row with a kind of Last Supper effect The professor was brought along by the

policeman to translate Mrs Catt's speech to make sure there was nothing subversive in it. Everywhere she spoke in Austria, the uniformed censor and his official interpreter sat with her on the platform. "This made me feel very important," she wrote home to *The Woman's Journal*.

The morning after this first meeting, as she and Dr. Jacobs were discussing over the breakfast table the fact that not a single Bohemian woman had come to their lecture or called on them, Miss Frantiska Plaminkova, whose name proclaimed her Czech nationality, was announced. She proved to be an intelligent and attractive girl who spoke English and had come to explain to the President of the International Alliance the reason why Czech women had boycotted her lecture. It was because the meeting was held under German auspices and in the German language. She wanted the visitors to know that Czech women were grieved to have had no part in welcoming them to Bohemia, Czech women were the first in Central Europe to assert the political rights of their sex by nominating and electing women candidates to office under Bohemian law, and by petitioning the Imperial Parliament at Vienna for the Parliamentary vote, Czech women were among the most progressive in the world, and longed to have the leader of the suffrage cause come back to Prague and speak to them. Much interested, Mrs. Catt smilingly inquired why the Czech women could not get up a meeting for Dr. Jacobs and her while they were already in Prague instead of waiting for a second visit? Miss Plaminkova's face flushed as she replied that it simply could not be done while they were guests of the German society. Though they lived side by side in the same city, there was a great gulf fixed between Czech and German. Since they did not speak the same language they would not converse at all. If a German addressed a Czech in the German language, the Czech assumed that nothing had been said, and vice versa.

The girl's earnestness made a deep impression on the older women, both of whom realized that they were meeting a born leader. They promised to make another visit to Prague, and then Mrs. Catt with that tact which never failed to disarm resentment spoke

directly to the ardent girl of the necessity of rising above race antagonisms into the community of aims and efforts demanded by a universal cause. "I have said these same things to the German women," she said in conclusion. "I know you have," Plaminkova replied gratefully, then relieved and radiant—and unreconciled to the Germans—she took her departure. Many times in after years Mrs. Catt recalled the first meeting with Frantiska Plaminkova, realizing how inevitably it foreshadowed the tragic fate in store for the gifted girl.

From Prague the visitors went on to the ancient but thriving industrial center of Slovakia, the City of Brunn, where they were taken in charge by Fraulein Huntschik, President of the German Society for Women's Progress. As was the case in Prague, their meetings here were attended only by Germans. In Vienna, they spoke under the auspices of the Austrian Council of Women. There was an Austrian law which required that in every public meeting opportunity should be given for objectors to state contrary views to those voiced from the rostrum, and this privilege was taken advantage of freely in the Vienna meetings, which were followed by lively debates.

In leaving Vienna to go to Budapest, the travelers met their only mishap during the trip, owing to Dr. Jacobs misunderstanding directions and in consequence piloting her companion onto the wrong train. They were traveling by night and had gone a considerable distance before the mistake was discovered. When the conductor examined their tickets, he told them they were going away from Budapest instead of toward it, and instructed them to get off at the next station, spend the night there, and take another train for Budapest in the morning. The little station at which they alighted in the middle of the night was closed, a boy with a lantern standing on the platform being the only living thing to be seen. He was a wild and elfin creature upon whom Dr. Jacobs tried all her languages without success. Then both women resorted to pantomime. A gleam of intelligence flickered in his eye, he picked up their bags and led the way into the darkness. They followed the bobbing lan-

tern along the railroad embankment till they came to a flight of stone steps at the foot of which a group of men were lounging. They followed the boy down the steps and across a cobblestone street to a building through whose open door a light was shining. Inside, they found themselves in the taproom of a country tavern. Behind the bar in one corner a buxom woman was dispensing beer to men customers seated at small tables. The air was thick with tobacco smoke and the fumes of malt, the dark mustachioed men looked like bandits as they stared in silence at the new-comers. The barmaid understood no language but her own in which she carried on a fluent conversation with the boy. Presently she came out from the bar, picked up a candle and conducted the wayfarers upstairs to a bedroom over the taproom, facing on the street. There were two big beds in the room and two iron washstands with basin and pitcher. The beds were clean but with no bedding except sheets and top featherbeds. As the windows were fast shut the air was warm and stale, and to complete their discomfort the revelry below seemed likely to go on all night, and there was no lock on the door! After a long time they fell into a troubled sleep, aware that since they could not explain when they wished to be called in the morning they must depend on their own efforts to wake up in time to make the train.

When they awoke, the sun was rising and the house was still. They dressed hurriedly and went downstairs to the taproom which was now deserted, its floor and tables freshly scrubbed to snowy whiteness still damp and smelling of soap. For breakfast they were given excellent bread with tall glasses of steaming coffee by the cheerful barmaid who seemed to live without sleep. During the short walk back to the station they were cheered by the prospect of a highly cultivated farming country, in the midst of which the little village clustered around its church where they had passed so uncomfortable a night formed a quaint and pleasing detail. It was their utter inability to communicate with the people who lived there which made the latter appear so forbidding the night before.

Budapest captivated Mrs Catt, with its romantic beauty, gallant history, and progressive spirit. She was amazed to hear that the first suspension bridge and underground railway were constructed there, and that for ten years past a telephone "newspaper" had at stated hours of the day announced the news to subscribers as they sat at ease in their homes—forerunner of the "press radio news" of today.

The Hungarian branch of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, organized immediately after the Berlin congress, was having remarkable growth due to the enthusiasm of Vilma Glücklich, its president, a teacher in the Budapest schools, and Rosika Schwimmer, its secretary, a young newspaper woman with great gifts as speaker and debater. The meetings arranged for the suffrage visitors were attended by wide awake audiences who delighted to engage in debate after the speeches.

The press gave unusual space to the meetings. Dr Jacobs spoke German and needed no interpreter, Mrs Catt's speeches had to be translated, but even with this handicap she received the lion's share of the publicity. The notices of her lectures were collected, translated into English and presented to her in a handsome volume at the conclusion of her visit. It was with considerable consternation that on opening it she was confronted with the following version of what somebody thought she had said:

She says that in those States (in America) where woman has active and passive suffrage, one can observe a high soaring upward on material and cultural territory. That land is happy where there is no poverty, where civilization stands on the highest degree, where crimes are rare, and fools, idiots, in smallest number—and Wyoming is happy! There is but one idiot in that country which is as large as this whole Austria, nearly no fools exist, crimes are rare, absolutely no poor people to be found, and every five-year-old child knows how to read and write!

What a record for Wyoming! After that, Mrs Catt never had the same confidence in the spoken word as it passed through the mind of the interpreter.

The strain of the Copenhagen congress and the subsequent speaking trip with Dr Jacobs compelled her to acknowledge there

was a limit to her strength. Nevertheless she felt she had established intimate contact with her European co-workers, and had acquired a knowledge of the situation in the Old World as it affected women which could only be obtained by personal observation. It was a very different situation from that in America. Women were in the majority in Europe. For ages Europe had been a battle ground of contending races and ideologies. It was profoundly disharmonious and militarized. Masculine dominance was the continental tradition as it never was in the democratic New World. Standing armies took European men away from normal social life for a considerable portion of their existence. There were not enough men to go around in marriage, prostitution was regarded as necessary by governments, irregular liaisons were condoned if not encouraged. Out of these conditions there had grown up a sex cynicism on the part of many European feminists which shocked American suffragists, while the Europeans were diverted by what seemed to them incredible naiveté on the part of Americans.

In one respect, the organized demand of women for political equality was alike in Europe and America in that it was a middle class movement. Although it had the endorsement of women in industry, the latter were more concerned with building up their trades unions than with getting the vote. It was the highly individualized women of the middle class, the professions, the intellectuals, who insisted on political independence. At that time their indignation at being disregarded and thwarted by the government was threatening to precipitate a sex war in England, with the rise of the militant suffrage movement. Mrs. Catt believed that every effort must be made to enlist and publicize the support of important men so that the woman's rights movement should be presented as a demand of progressive people regardless of sex. In this view nearly all European suffrage advocates were agreed. Most of them were women of outstanding ability and good judgment, many were experienced in civic affairs. The few revolutionaries were unobtrusively suppressed and the English militant movement did not spread to the continent. Mrs. Catt's influence within the Alliance was unques-

tioned from the first. Just as in her own country, her collaborators in other lands recognized her genius, honored her without envy, were inspired by her boundless energy. She made the same profound impression on European political leaders wherever she went, which redounded to the credit of the movement.

When she reached New York after her first suffrage tour of the Old World, desperately tired as she was she knew that in spite of having to speak with the miserable handicap of an interpreter she had scored a substantial success for the Alliance.



*Amsterdam and London Congresses, 1908-1909*

The year following her tour with Dr Jacobs was largely spent by Mrs Catt in Charles City, during her mother's last illness. Soon after her mother's death, Mrs Catt went to Amsterdam to prepare for the fourth congress of the International Alliance which was meeting there in June, 1908. The Dutch suffragists were hoping to get woman suffrage inserted in the new constitution which was to be submitted to the nation the following year, and had asked the congress to meet in Holland because of its effect on public opinion.

Mrs Catt arrived in Amsterdam early in May, and after six weeks of preparation the congress was opened in the Concert Hall. A cantata, composed and directed by Catherine van Rennes and rendered by a chorus of four hundred women and children, was given its first public performance. In her president's address Mrs Catt said the congress was meeting on the 693rd anniversary of the signing of Magna Carta at Runnymede. She outlined the progress of the suffrage cause since the Copenhagen congress—full suffrage granted in Norway and the presence of a representative of the Norwegian Government at the present convention; suffrage appeals presented to eighteen European governments, concessions granted by seven countries, "in Spain and the Philippines bills were presented by friends quite unknown to us", three new branches admitted to the Alliance—Bulgaria, South Africa and Switzerland—bringing the membership to sixteen, Austria and Bohemia had formed suffrage committees which was as far as they could go under Austrian law. The most stirring part of the address took up events in England which had become the storm center of the movement.

The English campaign stands out as the most remarkable ever conducted for woman suffrage [she said]. When the deputation of sixty members of

Parliament paid a visit to the Prime Minister a few days ago to ask his support of woman suffrage, the zenith of the world's half-century of woman suffrage campaigning was reached

English women have effected another result. A new movement is invariably attacked by ridicule. If it is a poor one, it is laughed out of existence, if it is a good one, the laugh is turned upon its opponents. The laugh has now been turned upon the English Government. When dispatches flashed the news to the remotest corners of the globe that English Cabinet Ministers were protected in the street by bodyguards from unarmed women, when the vision was presented of the Premier of England hiding behind locked doors, skulking along the streets and guarded everywhere by officers lest an encounter with a feminine interrogation point should put him to rout from that moment [the world] conceded the victory to the suffragists. The only question now is: How will the government surrender and at the same time preserve its dignity?

She gave the reason why the United States was lagging behind other parts of the world in extending the franchise to women as chiefly the reaction from the huge influx of foreigners, running as high as a million immigrants annually, and the doubt as to the wisdom of admitting even the males to full citizenship under those circumstances.

Naturally it would have flattered the pride and patriotism of American women could their country have continued to lead the movement which had there its organized beginning. But their deep regret that this cannot be done does not modify the genuine sincerity of their joy over the progress in other lands. There are irresistible forces which make for human liberty and against which kings and armies struggle in vain. In the long run it cannot matter where the victory comes earliest, since our cause is not national but international. Every victory gained adds momentum to the whole movement. We have heard much of the solidarity of the human race, we represent the solidarity of a sex. We oppose a common enemy whose name is not man, but conservatism. Its weapons are the same in all lands. Therefore we must remain a united army which, in the words of Susan B. Anthony, "knows only woman, and her disfranchised." We must grow closer to each other, we must learn to help each other, to give courage to the fainthearted and cheer to the disappointed of all lands. Within our Alliance we must develop so lofty a spirit of internationalism, a spirit so clarified from all personalities and ambitions and even national antagonisms that its purity and grandeur will furnish new inspiration to all workers in our cause. We must

strike a note in this meeting so full of sisterly sympathy, of exultant hope, that it will be heard by the women of all lands and will call them forth to join our world's army

The effect of the congress upon public sentiment was registered in a marvellous change in the attitude of the Dutch aristocracy. The great houses on the canals which had been hermetically sealed to the cause hitherto were suddenly opened to it. Respect took the place of indifference in the press. Among the converts to the cause, a young Dutch girl of conservative family, Miss Rosa Manus, became an ardent adherent who rose to prominence in the Alliance in after years.

Two monster parades took place in London at the time of the congress. Most of the American delegates stopped in London on their way to Holland and took part in the first demonstration which was gotten up by the National Union of Suffrage Societies. Mrs. Catherine Waugh McCulloch, lawyer and officer of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, wrote to *The Woman's Journal*, "I never saw such crowds!" Twenty thousand women were parading, carrying over a hundred beautiful banners, among them banners for Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucy Stone. The ancient watchmen's lanterns carried beside each banner, the picturesque costumes, the brilliant hoods of the university women, the floats, the bands, the militants proudly wearing their prison garb, the thousands of policemen holding back vast crowds of onlookers—all this galvanized the Americans with emotion. They never had been in anything like it before. Mrs. Fawcett led off with Lady Frances Balfour, and Emily Davies, the woman who in 1866 had handed to John Stuart Mill the first petition for votes for women presented in Westminster Hall. Through the heart of London the parade marched, and in its midst rode Anna Howard Shaw and the American delegates, blushing with shame that they were not on foot with the others. In Albert Hall there was a mass meeting where Dr. Shaw atoned for riding thither by making a speech which brought the English to their feet roaring with applause. The second parade, organized by the militants, was a vast affair terminating in

Hyde Park with eighty speakers addressing the crowds from twenty platforms. The effect of these monster spectacles in London was felt in every part of the world.

At the close of the congress Mrs. Catt remained in Amsterdam long enough to see to the printing of the congress minutes, after which she went to Germany for a visit to the Black Forest region, from there to Geneva with Dr. Jacobs for a meeting of the International Council of Women, stayed awhile in a Swiss village spending much time out of doors, and returned home the latter part of September.

The militant movement in England had aroused a desire for new tactics among American suffragists. The Kansas state association withdrew from the national association, and California which was getting ready for another suffrage referendum was heard to mutter, "This campaign is going to be run without advice from outside." Nobody knew better than Mrs. Catt that suffragists were not a feeble folk when it came to faultfinding and that it was not good for state associations to go off by themselves. Her own efforts were continually exerted to promote union and discourage separatism.

After she had retired as president of the national association, she had set to work to bring the suffrage clubs in New York city together in a city-wide organization called the Interurban Suffrage Council of Greater New York. They opened headquarters in the Martha Washington Hotel and at this time had progressed to the point where they could fill Carnegie Hall with their mass meetings. Mrs. Catt considered they were strong enough to undertake a new kind of work which she meant to lay before them after her return from the next congress of the International Alliance.

January 9, 1909, was her fiftieth birthday, and was celebrated by a surprise party of sixty friends who came to her home bringing as a gift a beautiful bowl made by Tiffany, filled with yellow roses. A few days later she presided at a luncheon given by the Interurban Council at the Astor Hotel at which the guest of honor was Ethel Arnold, granddaughter of Arnold of Rugby and sister of Mrs. Humphrey Ward. Miss Arnold was being featured as a suffragist to

offset her sister, who was the only outstanding literary woman in England opposing the Parliamentary vote for women. Many of the English suffrage leaders came to lecture in America during the next few years, including Mrs Cobden Sanderson, Mrs Philip Snowden, the Pethick Lawrences, and three of the redoubtable Pankhursts, besides many lesser lights

The International Woman Suffrage Alliance at its first congress elected officers to serve a term of five years ending in 1909. At the Amsterdam congress the British suffragists had invited the Alliance to come to London for the quinquennial meeting and election of officers. The date set was the last week in April, 1909

Mrs Catt had been home from the last congress scarcely four months when she departed in February to begin preparations for the next one. After a week in London for consultation with Mrs Fawcett and the local committee, she went to the continent for a second tour of Central Europe. In Budapest she was met by the energetic young leaders, Vilma Glücklich and Rosika Schwimmer. Much work had been done during the three years since she visited the country with Dr Jacobs. Meetings were scheduled for her in many cities and she was accompanied by Miss Schwimmer who acted as interpreter.

From Hungary she went to Prague, fulfilling her promise to Frantiska Plaminkova to make a second visit there as the guest of the Czech suffragists. Miss Plaminkova had attended the Amsterdam congress at which time her society was affiliated as the Bohemian branch of the Alliance. There was great activity among suffragists in Bohemia where Miss Maria Tumová, president of the suffrage committee, was campaigning for election to the Bohemian Parliament, and the Czech women were determined to outdo the meeting which the German women had arranged for Mrs. Catt on her former visit. They secured the famous Town Hall of Prague for the meeting; delegations came from outlying towns in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, women's organizations other than suffrage sent representatives; the City Fathers came in state, the American consul was present; the progressive political parties were represented. As

far as could be learned, Mrs Catt was the first American to lecture in the Bohemian Kingdom and she had been well advertized

When she rose to speak Mrs Catt found herself facing a great painting of John Hus before the Council of Constance Pointing to it, she paid tribute to the heroic reformer, quoting what he had said five hundred years before, "Lift up thy head, O Daughter, and understand that thou art a human being!" Miss Tumová, a matter-of-fact, middle-aged woman, with hair drawn back from her face and pinned tight to the back of her head, looked like the driest of schoolmarms as she stood beside the impressive American, ready to act as interpreter, but Mrs Catt had the surprise of her life when she paused for the translation Without an instant's hesitation and in a voice of extraordinary feeling the Bohemian schoolteacher turned her introductory words into the Czech language Many present understood English and had applauded without waiting for the translation, they cheered again for the interpreter The speech struck fire from the audience at the outset, and as the double theme of a free womanhood and a free world was developed it was followed with continuous applause

After the meeting Mrs Catt was conducted to a stairway leading down to the courtyard and she saw that the whole space below was packed with people waiting in silence, their eyes turned expectantly upward There were peasant women with bright kerchiefs over their heads, working women from the factories, stenographers, shop girls and clerks, who had come to get a glimpse of the guest from America As she reached the foot of the stairs and the crowd drew back to make a way for her, she saw an old peasant woman with a look of such question on her weatherbeaten face that Mrs Catt stopped and held out her hand The old woman took it as though it were the hand of Michael the Archangel, but Mrs Catt gave her a hearty handshake and word of greeting Instantly hands were thrust toward her from every side She grasped all she could reach, and on gaining the street found another crowd, which ran alongside the carriage calling out to her until the horses picked up speed Her Czech friends were mightily pleased with the demonstration,

meant in about equal proportion for her personally and for her country, since many in the crowd had friends or relatives in the United States

Miss Tumová's candidacy for the Diet was the climax of the Czech suffragists' determination to reestablish the validity of an old law permitting women to vote and be eligible to the Bohemian Parliament. The German citizens were opposed to the law but as it never had been repealed, they could not prevent the courageous teacher from announcing her candidacy. As the election was to take place while the Alliance congress was in session, the Czech women would be unable to go to London, a decision in which Mrs Catt fully supported them.

From Prague she went to Berlin. Certain newspapers there had urged that her meetings be boycotted on the ground that she was inaugurating a militant movement like that in England, but she paid no attention to the reports and her reception was entirely friendly.

From Berlin she returned to London, which at that time was the central vortex of the feminist movement. Militant tactics had spread from the labor group to the middle class and the intellectuals, and was fast becoming the most serious problem confronting the government. The non-militant National Union of Suffrage Societies, headed by Mrs Fawcett, was by far the largest aggregation of suffragists in the kingdom, and this group were the official hostesses to the Alliance. They called themselves "constitutional suffragists" because their methods stopped short of landing them in jail, but they were seen and heard quite as much as their embattled sisters. Mrs Fawcett estimated that they had held more than four meetings a day during the past year, while the number of local societies had doubled. The way they could raise money filled Mrs Catt with awe. They charged admission to the public meetings of the congress and the tickets were sold out weeks in advance! They even sold tickets to the official reception to everybody except the foreign delegates. The Americans were especially pleased by this function. There was no receiving line, nobody was introduced to anybody, in one room a concert by famous artists was being given;

in another, the Actresses' Suffrage League was putting on a play, in still another, there was an art exhibit, the guests wandered where they listed and went home unmarked and unmissed when they got ready. There was a suffrage mass meeting in Albert Hall at which the National Union cleared £1,000, and another under the auspices of the militants at which jewelry and gifts were tossed into the collection baskets until it took two girls apiece to carry them!

The number of nations represented in the Alliance had grown from sixteen to twenty since the Amsterdam congress, with the admission of branches in Austria, Belgium, Bohemia and France. It was inevitable that militancy should be discussed during the congress. The London air was electric with suspense and danger. There was apprehension of a sex war if the government continued its obstructive tactics. The outrage of putting suffragists in with criminals in the jails, the revelation of conditions in the jails themselves, the horror aroused by the hunger strikes, had engendered a resentment little short of fury in liberal-minded women and their men. As president of the Alliance, Mrs. Catt took occasion to emphasize in her opening address the official attitude of the Alliance towards militancy.

Since I came here, [she said] I have received a great many letters asking me to condemn militant tactics, and a great many others asking me to uphold them. Now I have no intention of doing either, but I also have no intention of evading the issue. As an international body, we must not take sides in a contention over methods in any single country. Here in England there is an intense difference of opinion about this matter. You and I, delegates to this convention, if we are courteous, diplomatic, just—if we understand what internationalism really means—will be silent upon our opinions concerning that issue.

A despatch to the Hearst papers, commenting on the address, said:

Mrs. Chapman Catt, neither blest (the militants) at all nor curst them at all, holding herself strictly neutral, but it was a scene of tumultuous enthusiasm which hailed the appearance of Mrs. Despard, leader of the extreme wing, when fresh from her prison experience she rose to address the meeting. Whenever the suffragettes come in view, "even the ranks of Tuscany can scarce forbear to cheer."



Mrs Despard, sister of Sir John French, was leader of the Women's Freedom League, a moderately militant group which later disavowed the methods of the Social and Political Union when they reached the stage of destroying property. At this time, however, the Pankhurst society had not gone beyond moderate militancy and the punishment meted out to the left wingers had aroused sympathy and admiration for their fortitude among the delegates.

Pictorially, the high spot of the congress was the Pageant of Women's Trades and Professions, gotten up by the London Suffrage Council, of which Lady Frances Balfour was president, and directed by the Artists' Committee. Sixty-three delegations took part, each group after the manner of the medieval guilds marching behind the banner of its trade or profession, every woman carrying an antique watchman's lantern on a pole surmounted by a green bough. The banners were of great beauty, and the effect of the lanterns, evergreens, and costumes of the marchers in the spring twilight, winding along the streets to the stirring music of their bands from Eton Square to Albert Hall, was of surpassing loveliness. At the Hall they separated in order to enter the immense auditorium simultaneously by five doors to the strains of the Meistersinger March from the Albert Hall organ. The speakers came onto the platform just before the procession entered with its banners, advancing in five columns to the stage before deploying to appointed seats.

On the following Sunday, the congress attended a special service at St Paul's where Canon Scott Holland preached a suffrage sermon. Mrs Catt and Dr Shaw were given seats by themselves, in front of everybody else and facing the choir. Neither of them was familiar with the Church of England service and, as they could not turn around to see what the rest of the congregation was doing, they watched the choir boys and followed their example! It was the first time the English Church had given any countenance to the suffrage cause. When the Parliament was opened, Dean Weston had refused to reserve seats in Westminster Abbey for the suffrage leaders, saying that, if they were to be present, three thousand policemen would have to be on duty to preserve order!

*The Woman Suffrage Party, 1909*

The dramatic scenes and tremendous emotions surrounding the London Congress had a profound effect on Mrs Catt. English women had made votes for women the outstanding political issue in Britain, and by so doing had galvanized the movement everywhere. She was convinced that the time had come for a concerted advance along the whole front, and she came back home prepared to put a new strategy into effect in the United States which should fully employ the new spirit fretting for action there. She was far from well, and spent the summer quietly at Sunset Park, Haines Falls, in the Catskills trying to recuperate her strength. But the physical relaxation was but a blind for her intense concentration upon a huge enterprise which she had long been considering.

From the beginning of the suffrage movement in this country, its leaders had kept their eyes fixed on an amendment to the Federal Constitution enfranchising women. It was realized that no campaign for a Federal amendment stood any chance of success until women had won the vote in a considerable number of states, and that foremost among these must be the State of New York. Furthermore, it was recognized that no campaign to carry the Empire State for suffrage stood any chance until New York City had been converted, and New York City could not be carried till Tammany Hall gave the "all clear" signal.

Tammany Hall was the oldest political machine in the country, dating back to 1789 when it started as a social and benevolent organization. By hanging on to its original idea of distributing bread and circuses, it had managed to weather many popular storms, and at this time was in undisputed control of the metropolis. It was no friendlier to woman suffrage than was the English House of Lords.

Nor was the Republican Party machine which controlled the rest of the state any better disposed. Nothing but an overwhelming demonstration of strength would make any impression upon either of these political colossi which divided up the Empire State between them, but Mrs. Catt felt the time had come to start the campaign for New York—the first objective in the great struggle for a Federal amendment.

To her, there was just one way to demonstrate strength, and that was to organize it from the ground up. She thought the kind of organization Tammany had followed for a century must be good or it would have been discarded, and she thought the suffragists would better adopt it. She had brought the suffrage clubs of Greater New York together in the Interurban Woman Suffrage Council, and she now talked over with their leaders the project of organizing the Five Boroughs for suffrage on political party lines. The leaders were enthusiastic, a call was issued, and all but one of the suffrage organizations were represented at a meeting in Interurban Headquarters in the Martha Washington Hotel, September 14, 1909. They voted to call a convention at Carnegie Hall in October, which should give public notice that the suffragists had entered the ranks of the political parties. Choosing a name for the new organization was tough going, and suggestions were handed in on slips of paper. Oreola Haskell sent up the name Woman Suffrage Party. They decided to select a title by the process of elimination—and eliminated all of them! *Woman Suffrage Party*, however, was the last to go down, because it exactly described what they proposed to be. Eventually, they adopted it. When it was published abroad, it affected the general public just as it had the suffragists, nobody liked it but nothing better could be found, and the dissatisfaction it aroused spread its fame far and wide.

Meantime, the suffrage situation in New York had altered. The National American Woman Suffrage Association had moved its headquarters from Warren, Ohio, back to New York City, where it occupied an entire floor at 505 Fifth Avenue, along with two other suffrage societies, the New York State Suffrage Association and the

Political Equality Association. The latter was captained by Mrs O H P Belmont, a recent acquisition to the cause. Mrs Belmont was militant by temperament and, knowing nothing about the past history of the movement, was inclined to think that it began in the summer of 1909 with her own advent. Her offices at headquarters were palatial. She could be seen only by appointment, and her organization could not be seen at all. Her interest in the feminist cause was of that fundamental kind which resented injustice to her sex because it was her sex. She was generous but she was arbitrary and hard to work with, and Mary Garrett Hay was heard to wonder "how long Anna Shaw and Alva Belmont would remain under the same roof." It was not very long, for, as soon as militancy appeared in America, Mrs Belmont transferred her allegiance and her financial support to the more congenial group.

Mrs Harriot Stanton Blatch, president of the Equality League of Self-Supporting Women, at this time was the only other prominent suffragist here who endorsed the English militant movement. She sponsored Mrs Pankhurst's first meeting in New York on her first visit to the United States, held in Carnegie Hall, Monday night, October 25. On Friday night of the same week the Hall was engaged for the first convention of the Woman Suffrage Party. It was just a coincidence that Mrs Blatch and Mrs Catt hired Carnegie Hall the same week for Emmeline Pankhurst and the Woman Suffrage Party, but it was a symbolic coincidence.

Mrs Pankhurst was at the height of her fame. On the night of her Carnegie Hall meeting, 57th Street was filled with people long before the doors were opened, and hundreds failed to get inside. Barnard girls acted as ushers, Mrs Blatch presided. Mrs Pankhurst's gentle face and slight figure, in such contrast to her turbulent and heroic story, her eloquence, her magnetism, the irresistible attraction which surrounds leaders who toss fear to the winds, all combined to sweep the audience along with her. The building shook with applause and those present might well have believed that a militant movement was launched in America that night. The collection baskets were piled high, and next day there were long front-page reports in the press of the whole country.

Five days later, Carnegie Hall was filled again with a suffrage audience. On the floor sat eight hundred and four delegates and two hundred alternates in convention assembled, representing every assembly district in Greater New York. Every chairman had a list of the sympathizers in her district. The framework of a city-wide political organization was there on display. Women whose husbands were prominent in Tammany circles were sitting in delegates' seats of the new organization. The politicians had not thought much about the Pankhurst meeting, they began to do considerable thinking about "this here Suffrage Party." Here was an organization which was a copy of their own and which spoke their dialect. The cool conciseness of the name! To hard-boiled members of platform committees at party conventions it sounded like the millennium to hear of a platform with one plank in it, and everybody agreed on it! Society was present in the boxes to see how Mrs. Mackay would get along reading the platform. The upper tiers were filled with people who did not know Mrs. Mackay but came to cheer Mrs. Catt and Miss Hay and old wheel horses from Brooklyn and Staten Island and the Lower East Side and Harlem and the Bronx. Mrs. Catt as city chairman presided, dressed in blue. Mrs. Mackay in a pale gown which set off her dark eyes and hair to perfection, presented the platform and sank back in her chair, pressing her hand to her heart in a gesture which many of the delegates thought theatrical, but which her friends said was caused by real stage fright. The presidents of the organizations in the old Interurban Council sat on the platform and took part in the program, among them Grace Strachan, head of the Interborough Teachers Association, made her first suffrage appearance.

It is no exaggeration to say that the organization of the Woman Suffrage Party was the most important event in the American movement after the winning of the vote in the four western states. In the greatest city in the country, the most heterogeneous and least friendly to reform, votes for women was suddenly lifted out of the atmosphere of reform and set down in the realm of practical politics. The new strategy had a solid foundation, it demanded leaders and workers in unlimited numbers, it was profoundly American, it

did not lead to a fight with the policeman and a jail sentence and hunger strike. It led to the front door of Tammany Hall. Inquiries began to pour in for information. In *The Woman's Journal*, February 19, 1910, Mrs. Catt wrote

With a population of six million in this city, we have a task before us much greater than that which has faced the campaign committees of most of our states. We have taken an office of four rooms in the Metropolitan Life Tower, the tallest building in the world. As usual, the officers and chief workers are giving their time without pay. We publish a weekly bulletin. *Our first duty is to arouse systematic activity.* We never have had a sufficient number of trained workers. This plan which calls for sixty-three Assembly district leaders and two thousand Election district captains will reveal the capable women and the kind of work each can do best. *Men have evolved this plan of work after a century of political experience as the best one for campaign purposes. It is a vain hope that woman suffrage can be adopted by any plan less thoroughgoing.* The Woman Suffrage Party aims to convert the City of New York. It assigns to each captain a definitive task of converting a certain number of men and women. Collectively there will be bolder undertakings, but the *individual work will be the basis of all effort [Italics ours]*

Here are sober words from one who was inaugurating a huge undertaking. They were scanned by women in every part of the country who pondered the careful and detailed instructions on how to follow New York's example. They realized she was presenting a plan to the women of the nation. As they read it, they felt behind the orderly sentences the energy and initiative of the incomparable chairman of the old Organization Committee, who had traversed the country from end to end in the nineties. "We have a task before us much greater than. We have taken an office in the tallest building in the world (She would!)" The officers are giving their time. This plan calls for sixty-three Assembly district leaders and two thousand Election district captains. We aim to convert the City of New York."

The old trumpets were calling again to the suffragists of 1910. In that hour militancy lost its challenge for leadership of the suffrage movement. American women went political and constitutional instead of militant in 1909.

*The Stockholm Congress, 1911*

Within a year from the launching of the Woman Suffrage Party, San Francisco, Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, and Chicago had successively formed similar organizations, the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and Illinois had organized on a state-wide basis, while Minnesota, Ohio, Indiana and Connecticut were in process of taking the same step. The idea of organizing as a political group captured the imagination of women throughout the country, it was logical, it was brilliant, it had been demonstrated as practicable in the largest city in the country. A Chicago boss, beholding with astonishment the enthusiasm with which his bailiwick was being invaded by the ladies, remarked, "I wish to God I c'd make this district organizing as fascinatin' to the party workers as it is to these danged women!"

But it had become plainly apparent to her friends that the originator of the new impulse was on the verge of a physical breakdown. Her public appearances had to be curtailed. In April she attended the convention in Washington of the National Suffrage Association, and made an address which displayed all her characteristic energy and eloquence, but which was followed by a collapse. In May she was to have made the first presentation of the suffrage question at a biennial convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs in Cincinnati, but she was too ill to go. Early in June she went to a New York hospital for a critical operation, and for days afterward she hung between life and death. Then a rally came, slow but permanent, and she recovered. By the last of July she was well enough to go to the sanitarium in Dansville, New York, at which time she described her state in a letter.

I always have had nerves, and naturally they have not been improved by the continual pain of the last three or four years. The form of nervous

display I manifest is excitement, but I hope that by going slow and keeping quiet I shall escape the lunatic asylum. My muscles, including those of the heart, were as flabby as rags, owing to anæmia, and I believe my brain to be as flabby as my muscles. I am in doubt whether my wits will return, or if indeed I ever possessed any. The weaker minded I grow, the more I aspire to be thought wise. If I go clear off the bat, I will be one of the type who imagine themselves Napoleon or Jesus Christ.<sup>10</sup>

By mid-September she returned with Miss Hay to New York, began gradually to resume her duties as chairman of the Woman Suffrage Party. In October the party held its second convention, with 900 delegates on the floor and every seat in Carnegie Hall taken. Mrs. Catt's entrance on the platform was greeted with resounding applause as the audience rose to welcome her first public appearance for many months. She looked older and frailer than of old, but there was a blue light in her eyes and a buoyancy of bearing that indicated a new lease on life. Among those on the platform were the Honorable Philip Snowden and Mrs. Snowden who were her guests on their way back to England from New Zealand. Both of them made short speeches, Mrs. Snowden in the course of hers remarking that "for solid work, organization, devotion, enthusiasm and political sagacity, the suffragists of New York have equalled the best that Britain can show."

But New York was not the only scene of activity. Some months before, Emma Smith DeVoe, an old co-worker in the Organization Committee of the nineties, had written Mrs. Catt, "We suffragists up here in the northwest corner think that another suffrage state is long overdue, and we propose to make it Washington!" Mrs. DeVoe led the campaign, Mrs. Catt sent a contribution to open campaign headquarters in her old home town of Seattle. On election night she had gone early to bed and to sleep. Towards morning she was awakened by the ringing of the telephone by her bed. Sleepily taking off the receiver, she heard an excited voice say, "The State of Washington has voted woman suffrage, two to one!" Mrs. Catt hesitated for a long moment, then in a deliberate voice responded, "I can stand defeat, but victory is almost too much for

<sup>10</sup> C. C. Catt to M. G. Peck, Dansville, N. Y. August 1, 1910



me!" The long deadlock was broken, a fifth state was added to the suffrage group, and it was Washington, where women had twice been given the vote by Territorial legislatures only to have it taken away by the courts. This time, the vote was conferred by the people—two to one! There was something for the courts to break their teeth on. More than that, it was the turn in the tide "which taken at the flood leads on to fortune," but, instead of seizing the favorable moment, she was about to leave the country for a prolonged absence. "There has come a mighty opportunity to our movement," she wrote unhappily, "and here I am, in the midst of the opportunity I've prayed and waited for, for the past twenty years, running away from it—throwing away my weapons and making a grand skiddoo!"<sup>11</sup>

For some time she had realized that she could not regain strength while remaining close to activities in which she was vitally needed. The next congress of the Alliance was to meet in Stockholm in June, 1911, and if ever she were to carry out her intention of visiting other continents to enlist women in a truly world-wide front, it was best to do it now when her doctor and close friends were all urging her to leave the country and take a rest! She told her doctor she had decided to take his advice, that she would take Miss Hay with her to Sweden for the congress, and that Dr. Aletta Jacobs of Holland, who was a physician, had consented to accompany her on a trip around the world after the Stockholm meeting. Her doctor was overjoyed at her decision, as he supposed, to go on a prolonged holiday and gave his consent and blessing.

On the eve of her departure, the Woman Suffrage Party gave a farewell dinner at the Astor Hotel, at which they presented her with a silver and ebony gavel for the congress. The affairs of the party were in good order, Mrs. Russell Sage had contributed next year's rent for city headquarters, Mrs. Catt, in spite of the heavy expense of her long trip, had given a substantial sum towards office expenses. Mrs. W. W. Penfield was to be acting chairman during her absence, and the five boroughs of the metropolis were being vigorously explored by aggressive borough chairmen.

<sup>11</sup> Letter, C. C. Catt to M. G. Peck, January 29, 1911.

On a hot morning in April, she and Miss Hay left for the Hamburg-American dock in Hoboken. A friend had sent his grand car to take them to the steamer. Halfway to the ferry they had a punctured tire and, as that was the eozoic era before spare wheels, it took the chauffeur half an hour to change tires. Still there was plenty of time and they started on their way once more. As they neared the ferry a loud report proclaimed a blowout! This time it was too late for repairs and they went on a flat tire to take their place in a long line of cars intent on crossing the Hudson River. Two ferry boats went without them before they finally got across, and their steamer was whistling hoarsely for the last time when they were pushed onto the gangplank and literally hauled with it on board! Their stateroom filled with fruit, flowers, books, magazines and sewing kits was all they saw of the friends who had come to the steamer to see them off.

The president of the Alliance had a heavy program ahead of her. There were four speeches scheduled in Copenhagen and several in Christiania, there were meetings with political leaders, an audience with the King of Norway, many social functions, and in Stockholm there would be preparations for the congress and many festivities. In Copenhagen she was assured by the Premier and all Parliamentary leaders that full suffrage for women in Denmark could not be long delayed. In Christiania her visit took on the aspect of an ovation. She was met by representatives of national and city governments and by the leader of the Norwegian suffragists, Fru Qvam, a woman of outstanding influence whom she greatly admired.

The four days in the little kingdom were filled with festivities and political interviews. Mrs. Catt spoke at the Norwegian suffrage convention in Christiania. She was honor guest at a luncheon at Voksenkollen. She had interviews with Premier Konow and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, was given a supper at the Grand Hotel at which the Premier made the address of welcome, was given a reception at the Women's Reading Club and a luncheon at the American Legation, made speeches at the University of Norway and

the Radical Students Union, and finally had an interview with King Haakon

Mrs Catt and Miss Hay reached Stockholm the last day of April and were established in the Grand Hotel, facing the main waterway of the city and beyond it the Parliament House and Royal Palace. The Swedish capital, one of the most beautiful cities in the world, was accustomed to international conventions, and the Swedish suffragists were determined that the Alliance congress should surpass any other convention ever held there. A suffrage bill was pending in Parliament which it was hoped the congress would aid. A daughter of Ann Margret Holmgren, founder of the Swedish association, had made a concert tour of the country from the extreme south to Lappland, beyond the Arctic Circle, which netted \$700 for the committee of arrangements. A competition among Swedish composers for music for the suffrage hymn had resulted in a setting by Alfvén which was to be sung at the congress by the famous Women's Choir of Goteborg.

The hotel accommodations provided for Mrs Catt were worthy of an envoy of a great power on a diplomatic mission. The reception room was of palatial size and furnishings, with long windows overlooking the quay below. After engaging a Swedish masseuse and an English stenographer, she settled down to the congress correspondence. Many invitations diversified the days of drudgery, she was taken to Skansen, the open-air museum where every province of Sweden is represented by a family group living in a typical home and pursuing their accustomed industries.

One interesting excursion was the visit to Uppsala University as the guest of Mrs Holmgren to witness the promotion of the candidates for the doctor's degree in Philosophy and Divinity. The ceremony was medieval from the Latin sermon and antique gowns of the candidates to the cannon fired outside as each new-fledged doctor put on his degree with his queer pleated hat. Just so the cannon proclaimed when the King drank a health to Hamlet at Elsinore Castle. In the university library she was shown the most valuable book in existence, the priceless Codex Argenteus of the

gospels in the Gothic language, written in letters of gold and silver upon crimson parchment pages

May passed and June was half gone when delegates assembled for the congress. On Sunday of congress week, the Church of Gustav Vasa had its first sermon by a woman preacher when Dr Anna Howard Shaw spoke to a packed congregation, while the Göteborg Choir with Elfrida Andree as organist furnished music. Dr Shaw rose to such heights in her sermon that the congregation burst into applause, regardless of the proprieties.

The congress opened with delegations from twenty-two nations, later increased to twenty-five, in attendance. The city administration in compliment to the convention ran up the flags of the participating nations on the flagpoles along the waterfront by the Grand Hotel, where the headquarters were. The auditorium of the Academy of Music was likewise hung with the banners of the nations. Preceding Mrs Catt's address, the official banner of the Alliance was presented, the gift of Froken Lotten von Kramer, a beautiful field of white satin embroidered in gold with the official seal, after which the Göteborg Choir came forward, encircled the banner and sang the suffrage hymn to *Alfvén's* majestic music.

The oratory at the mass meetings made this the most spectacular of all the congresses. The climactic meeting was at the Royal Opera, when Miss Furuhjelm of Denmark, Dr Augspurg of Germany, Selma Lagerlof of Sweden, Ethel Snowden of England, Rosika Schwimmer of Hungary and Dr. Shaw of the United States spoke. The audience cheered each performer to the echo until Selma Lagerlof's turn came. She spoke in Swedish so that few foreigners understood what she said, but they felt a growing emotion in the air. Instead of the applause that had followed the preceding speakers, the silence in which Miss Lagerlof spoke was unbroken and presently women were furtively wiping their eyes, while the men sat unconscious of the tears which ran down their cheeks. She was likening Sweden to a home from which sons and daughters were departing to a new world, while age crept upon the deserted parents left behind.

The most beautiful occasion of the congress was on the last evening at Saltsjöbaden, a seaside resort an hour's ride by steamer

from Stockholm. Dinner was served in a restaurant for the delegates, while long tables with refreshments were placed outside under magnificent pine trees for the others. An open balcony of the restaurant served as rostrum for the speakers, in the open space below an orchestra played. It was a still, warm midsummer night, the copper-colored trunks of the pines seemed to retain the sunlight which still touched the topmost branches.

At that very hour in London the greatest demonstration ever assembled in that storm center of feminism was marching through crowded and roaring streets to demand of the Government that it pass the suffrage bill pending in Parliament. The militants had warned that, if the bill were defeated, they would resort to extreme tactics. Mrs. Fawcett had remained at home instead of coming to Stockholm in order to lead her cohorts in the procession, for in this emergency all factions, militant and non-militant, formed a united front. No contrast could be greater than that between the scene in England where fifty thousand women with banners and bugles were challenging their government, and the scene on the Baltic shore where a few hundred women from many nations, surrounded by pine forest, shining sea, and sky of midsummer glory, were anxiously awaiting the outcome of the English struggle. One after another, the international leaders spoke from the balcony to the crowd below. Mrs. Catt came last. She was wearing the rich blue she loved, and as she stepped onto the balcony a group of peasants in costume came forward on the lawn below, facing her and singing songs of greeting and farewell. It was the last moment of the Stockholm congress, and there was something deeply moving in the words she addressed to each national group in turn—words appropriate to each and to no other. At the end she paused as though something were left unsaid, then remarked, "If I have left any of my children out, it's accidental, for I remember you all." Instantly a cheerful voice piped up in the crowd below, "You forgot us—the United States!" And, amid laughter and applause, the congress broke up.

In London, whither she went after the congress, a banquet was given for her on the Fourth of July by the united suffrage societies

of Great Britain at the Garden Club Coronation Exhibition. It was attended by Mrs Despard, the Pethick Lawrences and Christabel Pankhurst, representing the militant societies, while Mrs Fawcett, president of the National Union of Suffrage Societies, presided. In responding to a toast, Mrs Catt told a story she heard in Norway. When the Norwegian King was in London attending the coronation ceremonies of King George V, he was an interested spectator of one of the great suffrage demonstrations. With him was his son, Olaf, the little crown prince. As the two watched the struggle of the London police with the unruly crowds and the determined women, the boy asked his father what they were fighting about. King Haakon explained that the women of England were trying to get the vote. After thinking it over awhile, the boy said gravely, "Father, why doesn't Uncle George give the women of England the vote and save all this trouble, *as we have done in Norway*?" Mrs Catt went on to pay tribute to English feminists and their magnificent campaign, remarking that destiny was pointing clearly to the women of Great Britain to furnish leadership in the world movement, for in their national struggle they had risen to heights reached by no other nation. The International Alliance was not concerned merely to get women the vote, here and there, she said, it was meant to encourage women of all races in a common cause and a united strength. Every advance won by the women of any particular nation was won for women everywhere. "Women must unite in something greater than national or race loyalty, and that is the motherhood of the wide world."

Never again were so notable a group of English feminists seen together in harmony as on this occasion. At the moment, the militants had declared a truce of God with Mr Asquith, but, although they minimized as best they could their difference in policy, the division in the English suffrage ranks was vital. It is not the least glory of their great fight that they never turned their guns away from the common enemy upon each other.

*Trip Around the World*

A few days after the Fourth of July banquet in London, Mrs Catt bade farewell to Miss Hay, who was returning to America, and embarked for South Africa on the first lap of the trip around the world. In her party besides Dr Aletta Jacobs of Holland were Mrs Boersma of The Hague, a friend of Dr Jacobs, and Miss Amelia Cameron of New York, a friend of Mrs Catt, who were going along for the African trip only. Mrs Catt's main object in going to South Africa was to aid in uniting the local suffrage societies into a national association affiliated with the International Alliance. A South African Committee already belonged to the Alliance, but no national association had been formed. The Union of South Africa was only two years old and the disruptive passions of the South African War were still smouldering, while immense distances, imperfect means of communication and barriers of language further retarded the development of a national spirit. Here, too, as in America, the suffrage question was entangled with the race question.

It would be hard to find two people better fitted to draw together the suffragists in this difficult environment than were the American and Dutch leaders. Mrs Catt was familiar with sectional antagonism arising from the Civil War in the United States, Dr Jacobs was an admirable companion for the Boer country, not only because Dutch was her native language and she had sympathized with the Boers during the war, but because she was an ardent internationalist. Together, the two women complemented each other to an unusual degree. Both of them kept a daily record of events throughout the entire trip. Dr Jacobs was under contract to write regular travel articles for a Dutch newspaper, which subsequently were published in book form. She was financing her trip with the

newspaper articles and a sum of money received from the sale of a valuable painting Mrs Catt's diary, written by hand and illustrated by scores of photographs and postcards, was sent home in installments for preservation She also wrote travel letters for *The Woman's Journal*, a number of magazine articles, and personal letters

The party arrived in Cape Town in August, at the end of the southern winter Mrs Catt had placed herself at the disposal of the suffrage societies, and they had planned a speaking itinerary which entailed four thousand miles of railroad travel over the entire Union and provided for several days stay in eleven of the larger cities She was greatly impressed with the ability and character of the women with whom she came in contact wherever she went, with their competence to secure official and personal recognition of her visit from high government dignitaries and their wives and, above all, with the amount of work they got out of her<sup>1</sup> In a letter to *The Woman's Journal*<sup>12</sup> written at sea after leaving the country, she summarized her activities there as follows. she had been seventy-six days in South Africa, of which twelve had been spent on trains and forty under the direction of suffrage committees, she had spoken at thirteen public meetings and made twenty-two other speeches, there had been seven evening receptions given for her and Dr Jacobs, eighteen luncheons (six of these given by high government officials), fourteen afternoon and three morning teas, six dinners, three picnics, twelve conferences with suffrage committees In all, she had met ninety-eight engagements, seventy-six of them directly connected with her suffrage mission and the others growing out of it If her physician who had sent her off for prolonged rest and relaxation could have perused this statement, it would certainly have given him a shock<sup>1</sup>

But she came in contact with something besides the suffrage question during these crowded days She saw the shattering impact of white civilization upon a continent filled with primitive black races. Here was a race problem beside which the American question

<sup>12</sup> *The Woman's Journal*, January 13, 1912



seemed insignificant. She saw the blacks herded in compounds away from their villages for months at a stretch while working for their white employers. She visited the hut of a savage chief in one of these same villages and witnessed the ingenuity with which the black man had adjusted himself to his natural environment before it was invaded by the white. She saw diamonds by the pailful and gold by the ton as they came up from the mines, visited fruit farms, cattle ranges, ostrich farms, partook of a large sponge cake made with one ostrich egg, which last, she carefully explained, is equivalent in baking recipes to twenty hens' eggs<sup>1</sup>. She sat on a rock at Miller's Point, Cape Town, and simultaneously dipped one hand in the Atlantic and the other in the Indian Ocean—or so she was told<sup>1</sup>. She spent five days at Victoria Falls, where she heard terrific lion stories and where Dr. Jacobs was desperately ill. Wherever they went she found Americans; the chief government entomologist had been a fellow student of hers at Ames, the Wellington Woman's College was a child of Mt. Holyoke, at Johannesburg, the Martha Washington Club gave a reception for her, and American missionaries were all over the continent. It was these missionaries who seemed to her to be the only people truly concerned about the future of the native races.

The one woman she had most hoped to meet in South Africa she did not see. Olive Schreiner, who lived in a remote interior village requiring an exhausting night's travel to reach. Dr. Jacobs had translated Olive Schreiner's book *Woman and Labor* into Dutch, and was determined to make the long trip to meet the author. She did so, and came back filled with disapprobation of Mrs. Schreiner's way of life, which she described as utter mental stagnation while making a home for her husband<sup>13</sup>. From South African friends Mrs. Catt heard the Boer writer's unhappy story, how she had had a great friendship with Cecil Rhodes which ended in estrangement when the Boer War broke out and they took opposite sides, how in war time she had buried herself to work on her *mag-*

<sup>13</sup> The husband wrote Olive Schreiner's life later, and if Dr. Jacobs could have read it, she probably would have modified her opinion of the situation.

*num opus*, *Woman and Labor*, and on completing it had gone away from home for a rest and change, how during her absence British soldiers on a raid had burned the house with its contents, including not only the finished manuscript but all the notes from which it had been made, how she had rewritten the book as well as she could from memory, but before it appeared in print other similar studies had been published which diminished the original importance of her contribution, how the end of a cherished friendship, the defeat of the Boer cause, the frustration of her genius, and the ravages of a chronic disease had broken Olive Schreiner so that she did no significant creative work afterward. But this did not obscure the fact, Mrs. Catt's English informant added earnestly, that the women of South Africa owed more to Olive Schreiner than to any other liberating influence.

Although she was unaware of it at the time, the most remarkable person Mrs. Catt met in South Africa was a scrawny little Hindu lawyer by the name of Mohandas K. Gandhi, to whom she had been given a letter of introduction by a friend in London. He was living in Johannesburg, execrated by Boer and English alike, at the very height of his campaign against the oppression of Oriental coolie labor in South Africa. When Mrs. Catt sent her letter of introduction and asked him to call on her, first at a hotel to which he was denied admittance, then in a private business office to which the lift operator would not carry him, she went with his secretary to meet him in his own headquarters. These consisted of two or three rooms, situated in a poor quarter of the city, bare of furniture but filled with activity. The anteroom was crowded with Hindus waiting to see their champion and when he appeared every sound was hushed as all eyes turned to him with indescribable intensity. It was the last day of Mrs. Catt's stay in Johannesburg and, owing to the obstructions encountered in her endeavor to meet him, the time remaining for the interview was short. But in those few minutes Gandhi told something of the wrongs he was trying to set right, for it was in South Africa that Gandhi tried out the strategy of non-violent resistance—a strategy which converted pacifism itself into a weapon

of attack. He spoke excellent English and conveyed the impression of being absolutely assured of success in leading a mob of low caste aliens against powerful financial interests and the Government itself. In the brief account of the meeting in the diary, Mrs. Catt sized up Gandhi as a fanatic guided by high intelligence, and recorded a prophecy that Great Britain had by no means heard the last word of him. She knew the forces that can be called into action by a high intelligence wholly devoted to one absorbing purpose and willing to pay the costs.

The great antagonist against whom Gandhi arrayed his pitiful mob was General Smuts, Minister of the Interior, Mines and Defense. Mrs. Catt and her party were invited to the home of the Boer leader who had met defeat like a man in the South African War and made friends with his conquerors. It was General Smuts who first used the term "conscientious objectors" in describing Gandhi and his followers, and he was adamant in opposition to their demands. It was the fanatic guided by high intelligence, however, who won out in that struggle, and who went back to India well trained to enter a far greater one.

The South African tour came to an end in Durban, October 20, with the assembling of the first national suffrage convention in the Union, and the formation of the national suffrage association, directly due to Mrs. Catt's initiative. It was not easy to bring the various elements together, but she had the wholehearted cooperation of many broadminded South African women and a vigorous national branch of the Alliance was established there. To complete her happiness, a cable message came to her in the midst of the convention saying that California had voted for woman suffrage at the special election, October 10. The South Africans were puzzled by her exultation, for to them California was but one of forty-eight states, but to her California was to the West what New York was to be to the East—a major strategic victory.

Late in October, standing on the deck of the S.S. "Avondale Castle," she looked her last upon the palms of Durban and the

great cliffs of the Drackenberg, as the ship started on the voyage up the east coast to Port Said

We have four cabins on the top deck [she wrote to *The Woman's Journal*] and we keep the fans going all night There are interesting people on board—British officers of Soudanese troops, magistrates, managers of mines and rubber plantations in the interior, a doctor from a sleeping sickness camp, missionaries They are all full of malaria and take from five to thirty grains of quinine daily Our cargo tells the story of our voyage ostrich feathers, hides, sisal, copra, elephants' tusks, millet

Of seven stops to take on and unload cargo which gave the passengers opportunity to go ashore, she remembered the one at Zanzibar with greatest pleasure "A city of dreams," she called it

A memory of this voyage came back to her in after years when the Fiske Jubilee Singers began to sing over the radio—the memory of a far away, rhythmic chant from the African jungle, coming nearer, of a dark head followed by a slim, black figure appearing over a long hill paralleling the beach off which their ship lay at anchor, of another and another, a long line of slim, black men, each with a burden on his head, singing as they came First, a great voice would roll out a line solo, and the others would repeat it with variations in chorus over and over until the solo voice would strike in with a new stave She was told they were singing a "carrying song," the words made up as they went along Years after, when she heard the spirituals over the radio, she realized that she had heard them in their original form in the Dark Continent where they were born

The most uncomfortable part of the trip was the passage through the Red Sea, where the thermometer went to 120 degrees On arriving at Port Said they found they could get neither hotel accommodations nor railway tickets to Cairo, owing to the fact that every facility had been preempted by crowds pouring into the city to see the King and Queen of England who were about to pass through the Suez Canal on their way to the Imperial Durbar in India Consequently the party had to make a quick change in their itinerary and decided to go for a side trip into Syria and Palestine

Fortunately they were able to get passage on a steamer which was on the point of sailing for Jaffa. There was no time to make tourist arrangements, and it was not until they were on board the steamer that Mrs. Catt had a chance to ask some questions of a woman passenger who referred her to another woman on board, a Mrs. Spofford who was head of the American Colony in Jerusalem, and could give her every information. As soon as she heard the name, Mrs. Catt recalled a conversation with Selma Lagerlöf in Stockholm about the American Colony, where the Swedish writer had spent some time gathering material for her novel, *Jerusalem*. Miss Lagerlöf had spoken of the remarkable woman who with her husband had founded and directed the Colony, and it was with considerable anticipation that Mrs. Catt now found herself unexpectedly thrown in contact with her.

The two women took an immediate liking to each other, with the result that Mrs. Spofford invited Mrs. Catt and her party to stay with the American Colony while in Jerusalem. Mrs. Spofford's story as she told it to the suffrage leader was most extraordinary, involving religious mysticism, shipwreck, emigration, lawsuits, abduction, and good American business sense. Despite its religious character, the community was in excellent standing with the Arabic population, and Mrs. Spofford made it possible for Mrs. Catt to meet prominent Arab officials and their families whom she could not have seen otherwise. Among the latter she discovered some advanced feminists who had arrived at their opinions quite independently of outside influence. One very intelligent young woman was a sister of the Mayor of Jerusalem. She assured Mrs. Catt that her father had given his daughters as good an education as he gave his sons, and had disapproved of child marriages. The father encouraged her to take an interest in politics although none of the family knew anything about the feminist movement, nor even of the agitation in Constantinople for abolition of the veil. When Mrs. Catt told her about the latter, she promptly said that nothing in the Koran prescribed veils for women. Other Arabic women expressed advanced ideas and were utterly unaware of similar ideas

elsewhere. Never before had Mrs. Catt realized how completely out of touch with each other the Christian and Moslem worlds were.

After their interesting and comfortable stay with the American Colony in Jerusalem, the travelers found the remainder of the trip through Palestine very arduous. Transportation was largely accomplished in ramshackle vehicles, drawn by all kinds of half-starved animals over atrocious roads. Magnificent scenery and sacred associations could not make up for dreadful inns. In Nazareth, the hostel was kept by an Arab against whom Mrs. Boersma conceived such a resentment that she presented him with a cupful of bedbugs on the morning when they paid their bill! Miss Cameron gave out temporarily in Nazareth, and had to be left there in charge of a Scotch medical missionary, rejoining the party later in Egypt.

The Palestine excursion came to a conclusion at Beirut where Mrs. Catt, Dr. Jacobs and Mrs. Boersma embarked on a steamer for Port Said. The Mediterranean ports had just been shaken by a cholera scare, and unfortunately a passenger on the steamer happened to die before they reached their destination. When the boat docked at Port Said, the quarantine officers reported to the port authorities that there had been a death on board, and the port officials would not permit anyone to land, fearing that the death might have been due to cholera. The steamer was ordered to proceed to Alexandria, where the six hundred passengers were hustled off and taken to quarantine barracks, surrounded by a double stockade and guarded by soldiers. Here Mrs. Catt's party were put into one room, for which they paid an exorbitant price, for four unspeakable days. When nobody developed cholera, they were finally permitted to continue their journey to Cairo. "Here," Mrs. Catt's diary records, "we have put up at the best hotel we have seen in five months, have laundered, scrubbed, disinfected, and are clean once more."

She had a great interest in archeology and had looked forward eagerly to the Egyptian visit. On the first day after their arrival, she went with her party to see the pyramids and while she was there

took her first and last ride on a camel. Next day, she came down with what she called "camelitis," and was confined to her room for a week, too ill to go with her companions on the Nile trip. This was a deep disappointment but she utilized the days of seclusion to meet some Egyptian women to whom she had letters of introduction.

She found the land of the Pharaohs seething with nationalism, the feminist movement being stimulated by the Young Egyptian movement. Women of high rank were actively working for enlarged privileges, as a result of which two government schools for girls had been established. A titled lady had published many articles urging educational and economic justice for women, women were speaking in public, one of them lecturing on women's rights at the new University of Cairo. The outstanding impression Mrs Catt derived from her short stay in Cairo was of widespread unrest among women in the Mohammedan world. On account of the rising cost of living, their men were finding it preferable to marry one wife at a time, divorcing her when weary of her to marry a new one, rather than keeping four wives simultaneously as the Koran advised. Women found the insecurity under this state of things worse than the old evils of polygamy. They spoke approvingly of the new Bahai religion which proclaimed the equality of the sexes, and of the introduction by a Bahai of a woman suffrage bill in the Persian Parliament. A woman suffrage committee was formed by Mrs Catt in Cairo, which gave promise of a new affiliated branch of the International Alliance.

The party of four separated at Cairo, Miss Cameron and Mrs. Boersma being homeward bound, while Mrs Catt and Dr Jacobs went back to Port Said. Here, on January 9, 1912, the two feminists celebrated Mrs Catt's fifty-third birthday by embarking for India. They spent a few days in Ceylon, visited the ruins of a former empire towering above the peaceful life of the present, were struck by the passive contentment of the populace, the children being almost as inert as their elders. The air was fragrant with spices, the villages tidy and clean, leaves fell from the trees and

new ones replaced them without seasonal change, men and women looked and dressed alike Mrs Catt recorded in her diary that these people had ceased to aspire, that "a growing nation must have growing pains" She formed no feminist committee in Ceylon'

From Ceylon they went to Madura, India, arriving during the celebration of a great Hindu festival They hired a guide to take them to the ceremonies in the famous temple It was a night they never forgot The guide piloted them through a huge crowd and helped them to an elevated position from which they could look down upon the mass of people who were watching with every indication of ecstasy two monstrous images, carried on lofty platforms by fat, perspiring Brahmins at the head of an interminable procession As the images were borne past their station, the guide exclaimed, "These are high caste!"—whereupon one of the Brahmins glanced up at them and drew himself up with a look of fathomless contempt as he turned his eyes away The acrid smell of the multitude, the myriads of butter lamps, the carvings covering the walls, the fanaticism of the multitude, the outrageous anatomy of the images, the ritual of reproduction and destruction, the omnipresence of caste, all conveyed to the two foreigners an overwhelming impression of something with which they had no bond of sympathy or comprehension, something intricate, subtle, at once fine-spun and brutal, evolved by an immemorial hierarchy to keep men in subjection During the whole time they were in India, the Hindu religion never ceased to mystify and repel them In Benares where they saw it in all its glory, they were shocked to see sick and well bathing together in the Holy River into which the ashes and scorched fragments of the dead from the burning ghats were thrown Mrs Catt's diary describes a procession of holy men who had not cut their hair for many years walking stark naked in procession before a reverent throng of onlookers

In contrast to these manifestations of hoary superstition were signs of awakening and progress among the women of India They visited the theosophical schools in Madras, Benares and Bombay, and noted the liberal influence of the Brahma Samaj. Everywhere



the Parsees were found to be progressive. They learned of the "emancipated" Maharanee of Baroda and her encouragement of women in education and business, of Miss Kumudini Mitra of Bengal who published a woman's paper, of Miss Sorabji, a Parsee, who had been admitted to the bar and was practicing law—something no woman could do in England at that time!

They visited Christian mission schools, found the missionaries faithful and devout but in general not sympathetic to feminism. In Bombay, they presented letters of introduction to Dr Benson, head of the Cama Hospital for Women and Children, but she could tell them little about the woman movement in India, while the American consul there knew nothing whatever about it anywhere! Dr Benson had been seventeen years in India, was very successful in her profession, and she did her best to put the visitors in touch with important Hindu women. She took them to a purdah party given by an English hostess, where they met many Hindu ladies gorgeously attired in native fashion which lent itself admirably to gold embroidery and fabulous jewelry. Here they met Miss Serin, advocate of many social reforms. Miss Serin invited them to a Parsee wedding, next day, the bride being a granddaughter of the man who gave the hospital which Dr Benson directed. Mrs Catt was greatly surprised to recognize the tune, "Marching Through Georgia", played as a wedding march! Dr Benson took them to a woman's club, where they saw a game of tennis played by a Parsee, a Hindu, and two Moslem girls—something which they were told could not be seen anywhere else in India. Here they met Mrs S G Ranaday, a Hindu reformer of whom Mrs Catt recorded, "She is as much of a feminist as I am," and who entertained them in her home. She was the daughter of a Hindu reformer, was a member of the Brahma Samaj, and of course was opposed to caste, child marriage, seclusion of women, and was strongly in favor of women's rights. They were entertained in homes where the head of the house was more progressive than the women of the family. For instance, there was the Hindu judge of the High Court who sat in a chair at his table and ate eggs and meat which were cooked

for him by a Christian, while his very intelligent wife and daughter continued to sit on the floor and eat rice with their fingers

All these women reformers were primarily concerned to get education for women, to alleviate the wretched lot of child widows—or widows of any age—and to get better wages for women at work in factories

It was not till they reached Calcutta, their last stop in India, that the travelers came in contact with the women of the revolutionary Nationalist movement, who had cast aside all tradition and were going through the villages carrying on propaganda for national independence. Many of them had been educated in mission schools without adopting Christianity. When Gandhi returned to India from South Africa, one of the first things he did was to enlist the cooperation of these evangelists of a free India.

Wherever she went, Mrs. Catt found the British troubled by this undercurrent of unrest. They told her there was but one deity in whose worship all India was united, and that was the terrific Kali, goddess of destruction. When she was wandering through the ruins in Amber, she came to one temple where fresh flowers had been placed before the shrine. The English friend who accompanied her smiled wryly as she commented, "This is a temple of Kali."

The longer they stayed and the farther they went in India, the less Dr. Jacobs and Mrs. Catt felt they knew about it. The first impression in the Madura temple of something ancient, secret, sinister, disharmonious, increased. The breath-taking beauty of the buildings left by the Mogul conquerors, the grandeur of the natural scenery could not efface it.

Early in March they left Calcutta, bound for Rangoon. The first impression of Burma was as kindly and cheerful as the first impression of India was alien and sinister. On their first evening in Rangoon they went to visit the Golden Pagoda, and they had a real feminist surprise there. Ascending the steps to the main terrace, they were struck by the fact that the booths where flowers and candles were sold to the worshippers were tended by women.

instead of men. As they proceeded they observed that men, women and children came in family groups to pray, and that the women were handsome and erect of carriage, with bare heads and smiling faces, not with timid downcast eyes, the whole impression being of free and friendly relations between the sexes. This first impression was subsequently sustained. The Malay race and the Buddhist religion allowed personal liberty to women, while the survival of matriarchal custom in Burma gave them control of their property, the right to carry on trade, have bank accounts, sue in the law courts, choose their husbands when they arrived at the age of nineteen, divorce them if they were not satisfactory, keep their own names after marriage, and in Rangoon had given them the municipal vote<sup>1</sup>. Half the retail trade in Burma was transacted by women. All this greatly interested Mrs. Catt as deriving from matriarchal institutions, and it was with liveliest anticipation of a closer view of the matriarchate in Sumatra that she and Dr. Jacobs went on to the Dutch East Indies the last of March.

Here they were directly under the equator where the raging heat was accompanied by saturating humidity. In the lowlands the only tolerable hours of the day were before nine in the morning and after four in the afternoon, while at night the travelers had to swelter behind mosquito netting and closed wooden shutters because of insects, reptiles, monkeys and other wild animals, and nocturnal robbers. Being near asphyxiation one night when she was a guest in a private home in Medan, Mrs. Catt opened the shutters in her room which the house boy had left carefully closed. The servants discovered it, told the master of the house, and he spoke to his guest the next morning, telling her she had endangered not only her own safety but that of the whole household and that it must not happen again.

Dr. Jacobs had hoped to find the Dutch colonies better governed than British India, and was therefore not at all pleased to find the manufacture and sale of opium a government monopoly. The young Dutchman who took them through the opium factory in Batavia where many native children were working was full of

excuses, admitting that, although anybody could buy all the opium he wanted in government shops, it was "pure"! The same gentleman took them through a pawnshop, one of 234 run by the Dutch Government in Java, and said that the Chinese pawnshops had been largely put out of business because the government shops were more honestly conducted. But the thing which most aroused the doctor's ire was the fact that the government normal schools were for men only and that there were no openings for women teachers.

During the two months of their sojourn in the East Indies, the visitors spoke at many public meetings in both Sumatra and Java, and Dr Jacobs was indefatigable in forming new suffrage clubs which largely increased the membership of the colonial organization. The most interesting experience they had was a trip into the mountainous interior of Sumatra to visit the matriarchate tribe of the Menankebos, to which Mrs Catt had looked forward as one of the main objectives of her travels. The journey from Padang on the sweltering seacoast up the cog railroad through volcanic passes, past sharp-edged peaks and precipices and foaming torrents to Payo Kumbu, brought them from equatorial heat to a cool clear air which at sunset suddenly turned cold. More than that, it transported them from the world of capitalist imperialism to an ancient matriarchal society. Here dwelt the Menankebos, descendants of the Malay race which at one time spread from this region over the surrounding archipelago and gave to the world one of its great cultures. The conversion of the tribe to Mohammedanism had modified their ancient customs, but enough survived to reward the eager visitors for coming. Through the Dutch Resident's courtesy, they were invited to the home of a titled Menankebo family, and were enchanted with its curving, gold-pinnacled roofs, its subtly slanting walls, carved timbers, spacious interior, gorgeous fabrics and metal work. Mrs Catt brought back to America miniature models in brass of Menankebo buildings and kept them on her mantel as prized mementos. From notes made on this trip she wrote the articles on the matriarchate which appeared in American magazines.<sup>14</sup> The magnificent scenery of the region reached its climax

<sup>14</sup> *National Geographic and Harper's*, 1912

at Fort DeKock, where they looked down into a vast crater whose sides were clothed in verdure and in whose depths was blue Lake Maninyu. One side of the crater wall had been blown out by a volcanic explosion, and through the cleft the far off sea and town of Padang were visible. Towering all about were tremendous volcanic peaks, from one of which smoke was rising and ashes sifting down upon their clothes. Sudden deluges of rain fed perpetual torrents which thundered down deep gorges to the plains. Overhead was the equatorial sun, its rays tempered by their elevation above sea level.

On their last night in Sumatra, at a garden party in Padang, they were entertained with ancient Javanese music and ceremonial dances. The most magnificent entertainment of their stay in Java was an evening reception in the enormous palace of a native prince, which was like a scene from the "Arabian Nights." Just before they embarked for Hong Kong, they heard the astonishing news that the revolutionary government of China had given women the vote and that they were sitting in the legislative assembly at Canton!

They reached Hong Kong early in July but before entering China they went to the Philippines for a month's stay. Here they were rendered every hospitality by the branch of Mr. Catt's company which was located there. An editorial which appeared in the *Manila Times* of July 13, commenting on their arrival, said:

The two leaders of women come at an appropriate time. They will discover at the outset that the women of the Philippines are a whole lot better than the men, an advantage by no means limited to morals. They excel their men in energy, in industry, in thrift. They do more for their homes and families. They have caught the spirit of progress that is abroad and have a leading part in it. They are filling the schools, they have taken the first steps toward the professions, notably medicine and surgery. They have for years been leaders in the household industries, and will be an important element in the commercial life of the Islands when that sphere is enlarged by the work of the schools and the effort that the government is devoting to it.

The cause of suffrage in which the two visiting ladies are especially interested has not been advanced here, and conditions would indicate that the time is not ripe. However, let us not deter, it would be diverting, whether practical or not.

An equally high opinion of Filipino women had been expressed by Mr Taft in his first report as Governor General of the Islands. As to the "time not being ripe" for woman suffrage, Mrs Catt found no difficulty in organizing a "Society for the Advancement of Women" in Manila, with four American and four Filipino women as officers.

She was pleased to see that American administration of the Philippines stood up well in comparison with British and Dutch colonial methods in the Far East. It had introduced scientific sanitation, a school system admitting both sexes from the primary school up through the university, had built roads and improved harbor facilities at Manila and elsewhere. The United States was out to "improve" the islands for the good of all concerned, and Dr Jacobs was greatly amused by the missionary fervor of the school teachers. "They think they are going to make little Americans out of these orientals, with their 'saluting of the flag,' domestic science, manual training and so on," she chuckled.<sup>1</sup> When it came to industrial methods, the prospect was not so rosy. In the tobacco factories the highest wage rate for women was only one third of that for men.

All my old hatred of tobacco came back when I saw the slavery of the young workers [Mrs Catt wrote in her diary]. Nerves stimulated to the utmost to bring dividends to the employers, who in turn are supplying poison to the multitude. Every man, woman, boy and girl of the middle and lower classes smokes cigarettes, every *man* of all classes smokes continuously. They don't know how to live unless a cigarette is in the mouth or fingers.

I have the intention to prepare a lecture on "The Women of the Malay Race," [she said in a letter<sup>15</sup>] with lantern slides, to raise suffrage money. It might take a little conceit out of us. If I ever give it, I may wear a gown I am having made. It has a lining of silk which was raised, colored and woven by one Filipino woman, the outside is of woven pineapple fiber and has been embroidered by another woman, it is being made up by still another, and with it goes a piece of jewelry made by a fourth woman.

After five weeks spent in the Philippines, the travelers returned to Hong Kong and took steamer for Canton, ninety miles up the river. They were eager to learn how much truth there was in the

<sup>15</sup> Letter to M. G. Peck, dated Manila, August 1, 1912.



FIRST OFFICERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE  
BERLIN, 1904

*Left to Right—Adela Stanton Coit, Treasurer, Martina Kraemers, Recording Secretary, Mrs. Catt, President, Rachel Foster Avery, Corresponding Secretary, Millicent Garrett Fawcett, Vice President*



MRS FANG, MISS WANG AND MISS SHENG  
Leading Chinese Feminists, 1912



OFFICERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE, BUDAPEST 1913

*Left to Right—Seated—Mrs Fawcett, Mrs Catt and Mme Schlumberger  
 Standing—Mrs Stanley McCormick, Mrs Stanton Coit, Mrs Lindemann, Annie Furuhjelm,  
 Signe Bergman, Chrystal Macmillan, and Rosika Schwimmer*



INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE  
 ALLIANCE CONGRESS  
 Budapest 1913

Mrs Catt presiding



report that women were voting and sitting in the Canton legislative assembly. They settled themselves in their deck chairs to enjoy what breeze was to be had on that sultry August morning, when their eyes were caught by a notice

Watchmen adequately armed are stationed day and night in various parts of the vessel, and precautions are taken to ensure the safety of the steamers and the lives of those on board

Having digested this, they unfolded the Hong Kong morning paper and read on the front page that the very village which they were at that moment passing had been looted by pirates the night before! It was unusual for bandits to invade British territory, and angry British patrol boats were cruising about in the river warning every boat in sight

They reached Canton without mishap, however, and saw for the first time the flag of the new Chinese Republic on launches which were threading their way among the throng of sampans, searching for contraband arms. They were taken to the only European hotel along streets patrolled by armed guards, and the hotel management, after they had engaged rooms, absolutely forbade them to leave the building unless accompanied by a responsible guide. After going to see their consuls, they presented letters of introduction to five doctors, two school principals, two heads of hospitals and two missionaries, inquiring of each where the Canton revolutionary assembly was sitting and if there were women in it? Apparently it was news to those questioned that there was such a thing as a revolutionary assembly, to say nothing of women members! At last they unearthed a clue which took them on a long jaunt across the city to a building outside the walls, heavily guarded by soldiers, from an inside gallery of which they looked down upon the most amazing sight of their lives. There sat the Canton revolutionary assembly in a wide semi-circle around a raised platform which was occupied by a chairman and secretary, and sitting with the men were nine women members! The heat was intense, the humidity well nigh unendurable, the pilgrims had been drenched by showers on the

way thither, but they "forgot discomfort and fatigue as we gazed spellbound at this manifestation of the New China" The arrangement was Western, the people were Eastern

Every member carried a fan, [the diary records] the men waved theirs diligently, the women rarely used theirs About half the men wore European dress, the other half the native gown, the women wore trousers like all the other women in China The men wore light colored garments, the women were in black except one who wore blue, and at least two of them had bound feet The members did not address the chair to gain the floor, but simply rose and began to talk Just what would happen if the spirit should move two or more to pour forth their wisdom at the same time, as with us, I did not learn, as each speaker was listened to politely till he finished The vote was taken by rising and we noticed that the lady members did not always vote the same way Nobody could speak English and our questions had to remain unanswered

They sought Mr Tse Ying-pak, chairman of the Canton branch of the Tung Ming Hui, revolutionary society organized by Sun Yat-sen, and he invited them to a supper party in his home that same evening There, in the home of a Chinese gentleman of taste and the means to gratify it, they met several members of the assembly, two of them women, and some members of the Tung Ming Hui All were young, the men spoke English, the women did not, and conversation with the latter was accordingly unsatisfactory The supper was served Chinese style and the foreign guests did their best with chopsticks as they listened to the story told by the revolutionaries The Tung Ming Hui had been founded by Dr Sun five years before, women being admitted to membership and equal rights for women being one of the aims Some of the women members were very active and stood as high as the men When the revolution broke out, many women asked to serve in the revolutionary army, but in Canton this was not allowed although it was to some extent in North China Upon the successful termination of the revolution, Nanking instructed the various provinces to organize provincial governments, and Canton chose the members of their Assembly in an election It was stipulated that ten of the members must be women and elected by women, while the men

members were elected by men. One of the ten women chosen was a Christian and her family, in order to keep her from serving, sent her off to America to school! Mrs. Catt went to see the mother of the girl to find out why she objected, and was told "it was too bold a step." She also interviewed eight of the nine women in the assembly and learned from them that their families, especially the husbands, had opposed their taking any part in the government. The wives had stood their ground, however, but consented to spare their husbands' feelings to the extent of serving under their maiden instead of their married names. Of the unmarried women, three were teachers and one had studied in Japan. Kwangtung was Sun Yat-sen's home province, and was the only one where women voted and were sent to the legislature. The courage of these women in accepting responsibility aroused Mrs. Catt's highest admiration. After supper the party was taken to see a propaganda play given in the Western manner, business-like girl ushers showing them to their seats. At the end of the performance, Mr. Tse sent the foreign guests back to their hotel in his launch with two assemblymen as escorts. The latter looked so young that Dr. Jacobs asked one of them how old he was, and was told he was twenty-one!

Under the date, August 23, on which these events occurred, Mrs. Catt wrote in her diary, "This has been the most wonderful day of my life!" It was, however, but the beginning of a unique experience, for she had arrived in China at the moment when Chinese women were writing the most thrilling chapter in their history. She met their leaders and talked with them intimately. More than that, to her belongs the honor of having established connection between their movement at this momentous and critical period and the movement in the Western world.

On the way from Hong Kong to Shanghai by sea, Mrs. Catt and Dr. Jacobs were battered for thirty-six hours by a typhoon. The steamer passed through the exact center of the storm. At that moment the wind dropped to a calm and the deck was suddenly covered with birds and insects which were imprisoned in the tempest and which alighted to rest.

Their first interview after arriving in Shanghai was with Wu Ting-fang, well known in America, and the only prominent diplomat in China to side with the revolution. He had them to tea in his beautiful home and replied to their questions about the prospects for women under the new order with bland inconclusiveness. Mrs. Catt's comment on the conversation was, "Wu has been a diplomat for so many years that he only knows how to be on two sides of a question." On his part Mr. Wu was impressed by his callers sufficiently to mention them in a letter to an American friend, which the friend promptly published.

One of the results of the recent upheavals is that our young women are clamoring for woman suffrage. At the present moment, we have on a visit to this city two prominent lady suffragists, Mrs. C. Catt, President of the International Suffrage Alliance, and Dr. Jacobs of Holland. They gave our women some stirring advice and encouraged them to go on. Our women have not gone to such lengths as the English suffragists, but they have gone to the National Assembly in Peking and openly demanded suffrage from the members, who in order to avoid trouble had to leave the house.

There was a strong group of feminists in Shanghai, many of whom had attended college in the United States. They belonged to the Women's Cooperative Association, the older of the two national woman suffrage societies. The other society, the Woman Suffrage Union, was organized in Nanking during the revolution. The secretary of the Cooperative Association, Miss Sophia Chang, was an extraordinary person, a Shanghai schoolteacher who devoted her life to overthrowing the Manchu government. She was young, handsome, an eloquent speaker, with a grasp of the whole subject of woman's relation to society which astonished the Western visitors. In every respect these Chinese feminists of whom the western movement had never heard were fully abreast if not well in advance of their Occidental sisters. They had learned how to organize and conduct propaganda in the school of the revolution, and their courage during those days had been tried to the uttermost. On the walls of the headquarters of the Tung Ming Hui in Shanghai, conspicuous among the pictures of the martyrs of the revolution was

one of a young woman greatly revered for her heroism, who had given her fortune and her life, Mrs Ch'iu Chin of Nanking. The short life of this extraordinary woman—she lived only thirty-three years—stands up well beside that of any revolutionary patriot in history. She had died by the headsman's ax only five years before, and many of the men and women whom Mrs Catt met had known Ch'iu Chin personally and spoke of her with profound reverence. Although Ch'iu Chin was before all else a revolutionary social reformer, she was also a wife and mother, a poet, an educator and an ardent feminist.

These women in Shanghai who had started as secret revolutionists and done active service behind the lines of the insurgent armies were now committed to a program of equal political and social rights for women. Mrs Catt and Dr Jacobs spoke at two public meetings, one at the American Woman's Club, whose president, Dr Fearn of the Methodist mission, was the only feminist missionary they found on their travels, the other was at the Chang Su Gardens with a large Chinese audience. The Women's Cooperative Association accepted Mrs Catt's invitation to join the International Alliance, thus becoming the first representatives of the Oriental races in that organization.

In Nanking, the outstanding person they met was Captain Wu Moh-lun, officer in the Woman's Division of the revolutionary army, and president of the Women's Tung Ming Hui. They found her at the headquarters of her organization, a personable young woman with short hair, dressed in the comfortable and becoming trousers worn by Chinese women. She promptly volunteered to get up a meeting for them the very next morning under the auspices of the Woman Suffrage Union, the new national society about which they had heard in Shanghai. When Mrs Catt and Dr Jacobs appeared for the meeting, the hall was well filled, men sitting on one side, women on the other, with a long table down the middle between them from which tea, fruits and melon seeds were served before the speeches.

Nanking was no treaty port cowed by the foreigner, but an immense Chinese capital in the interior, half in ruins from the revolutionary fighting, but an imperial city still, and the story told by Captain Wu at the Ming Tombs, the day she took Mrs Catt and Dr Jacobs there, was something that could not have happened elsewhere. It was the story of woman's part in the revolution. Before the uprising started women acted as secret messengers between revolutionary leaders who had fled to Japan and those in hiding in China. Death was the penalty of discovery, and "Dare to Die" Clubs sprang up everywhere. They smuggled arms and bombs, and when fighting began they not only did Red Cross work but went into the ranks as soldiers. Miss Wu had been captain in a division of 640 women who wore the same uniform and took the same drill as the men. They were not ordered to the assault which captured Nanking, the previous November, but many of them took part just the same, and those who fell received honored burial with the other soldiers. For two months they were encamped on a hill overlooking the city and the Ming Tombs where the visitors were at that moment sitting, and not till the revolution was over did the women disband.

Then their disillusionment began. Only men were permitted to vote for members of the Nanking Provisional Assembly and, when an enraged woman threw a stone through a window of the hall where it was convened because she was not allowed to enter, Dr Sun came out and spoke conciliatory words to them. Yuan Shih-kai in Peking, however, was made of sterner stuff. When a delegation of Peking suffragists forced their way to him and told him they had helped put him in power because he had promised reforms and, if he did not keep his promises, they had *not forgotten how to make and use bombs*, Yuan replied, "All right, go ahead, blow me up." It was after that interview that the women mobbed the National Assembly and, in the words of Wu Ting-fang, "the members to avoid trouble had to leave the house."

Four girls from Captain Wu's company after this rebuff were sent to Peking to assassinate Yuan as a counter revolutionary. They

never were heard from again. Two more were sent after them, who were caught and shot. The women with indescribable bitterness saw their claims set aside by men whom they had placed in power, who turned from revolution to engage in ambitious intrigues.

In Peking Mrs. Catt and Dr. Jacobs heard at the foreign legations where they were entertained, the current gossip about the Chinese leaders and their intrigues which bore out what the visitors had been told by the women. The only people who expressed any hope in the Republic were missionaries, who declared their sympathy with the revolution and expressed the hope that foreign nations would keep hands off and let China work out her own salvation.

Her few days with the women of China were among the most profoundly moving in Mrs. Catt's life. She was welcomed to Peking with eager enthusiasm at a meeting attended by a thousand people. The floor was occupied by the women, many of them with bound feet, while men sat in the gallery. As they looked into the faces of the audience and noticed the intelligent response to the speakers, the foreign visitors realized that in no sense was this assembly inferior to any in the Western world, nor were the speakers inferior. Indeed, one of the women quite swept Mrs. Catt out of herself, as the following description written after her return to America testifies:

I met Captain Sheng Pei-chun at the Honan Clubhouse in Peking, one September day in 1912. She was the most interesting personality I ever met. It was she who started the "Dare to Die" Clubs before the revolution. She was a woman whose feet had been bound, but the imperial order to unbind had come in time to keep her from being hopelessly crippled. She limped, walked in fact like a clubfooted person, but far better than women with bound feet. She was quite the greatest emotional orator I ever heard. She spoke that day to a mixed audience of men and women. She made them laugh and she made them cry. They were like so many children in her hands.

But more interesting by far than her oratorical gifts was the completeness of her vision of women's opportunity for service in the world. She saw it all—equality of the sexes, the need for educational and industrial oppor-

tunity for women, one standard of sex morality, one law, one vote for all under the ideal Republic She wanted women to be free, for she saw in freedom the liberation of what was highest and finest in humanity I do not know what has become of her, but I do know what has become of the spirit of her preaching it has gone into the great current of influence that is bearing the women of the world forward toward the haven of democracy

She met women who had given their property to the Tung Ming Hui and were now earning their living, others who had engaged in gun-running, one who for a long time had lived in an isolated spot where she made bombs Few of them could speak English and she raged at the barriers of language as she entreated them to set down their deeds for posterity to read "How I did long to speak with them heart to heart, but we could find no suitable interpreters!" In a letter to *The Woman's Journal* from Peking she wrote

The women of Nanking and Peking talk calmly about resorting to bombs They say the men of New China have done nothing for them When the men talk about education, they mean education for men, they have done nothing about marriage laws and customs which condemn women to slavery from birth till death, they have done nothing about concubinage, and Yuan Shih-kai himself keeps concubines, the President of the Republic! The new government proposes to give the vote to men who have never asked for it, some of whom do not know there has been a revolution, while women who gave their all are ignored These women have done without pay all that has been done to establish schools and uplift women I have been amazed at the practical bent of their minds They would prove a needed balance wheel to the new government We have seen no woman in China affected by stage fright, and they speak with good carrying voices.

Never in my life have I so longed for wisdom and power to encourage and help my sister women as here! I am convinced the movement will not die, I only hope the leaders will not lose their lives They are brave and strong, but they will have more to bear than foreigners can ever understand

There is no hint here of the distaste which moved her to say of the English militants, "Window-breaking is too much like hooliganism!" Faced by the elemental struggle of the women of China, she was stirred to the depths by pity and admiration for their great-hearted leaders



After China, the peaceful loveliness of Japan was like calm after the typhoon. The restraint and shyness of the Japanese feminists, their innocence and awe of their government, were an anticlimax after the grim attitude of the Chinese leaders. The head of a popular girls' school told her feminist visitors that "Japanese women were hardly ready for the vote, but that when they desired it Japanese men would never oppose them as the men of Britain and the United States had done!" On one day Mrs. Catt had two meetings, one with Japanese feminists in Tokyo, the other with Americans in Yokohama. The Japanese meeting was to discuss affiliation with the Alliance. She had to work hard to persuade the hesitant ladies to take what they considered a plunge into great waters, but they finally capitulated. The American meeting was a social affair from which she came away completely fagged, while the difficult meeting with the Japanese women left her fresh and elated.

She and Dr. Jacobs engaged a guide to take them through the Yoshiwara in Tokyo, and saw the system of licensed prostitution in Japan from the training of the Geisha girls to the licensed houses where five thousand girls in Tokyo were said to be employed. The district was well lighted and policed, quiet and orderly. On entry a girl contracted to stay three years, during which time half her earnings were hers but out of which she must pay her tax to the government, hospital fees, board and clothes, and repay the loan advanced by the house on entrance. Girls of good character often entered the profession to support their families, and retired from it apparently without loss of face to marry. The feminists viewed the girls sitting behind barred windows on display so that customers could make a selection. They noted that it was invariably a hard-faced man who sat at the cashier's window raking in the profits from the exploited creatures and, while revolted by the spectacle of a civilized government sharing those profits, they admitted that the Japanese prostitutes were better off than the girls sold to private syndicates in the Chinese Treaty Ports.

For a long time after her return to America from the world tour Mrs Catt in her public addresses spoke of the opposition of the vice ring to the emancipation of women with an entirely new emphasis

In mid-October, at the end of their Japanese stay, she and Dr Jacobs parted company after having traveled together for over a year and a half, the latter to go back to Holland by way of Siberia and Russia, Mrs Catt to return to the United States by way of Hawaii Their friendship had weathered the test of daily companionship most successfully Mrs Catt set down her estimate of her friend in the diary in these words

After the [traveling] party was reduced to us two, all was harmonious We had the same wishes about traveling arrangements, both were business-like in settling up accounts promptly We had many arguments and did not agree on many things, but we came through fast friends Her devotion to the cause of her sex, her information on many subjects, her good memory, her ceaseless energy, combine to make her a truly wonderful and great woman It was with mutual respect that we parted, and we shall always have in common the memory of the most wonderful experience which ever fell to either of us

Years afterwards when the Dutch leader was old and ill and knew she never would see her friend again, she wrote Mrs. Catt telling her that the months they had spent going about the world together were the most treasured memory of her life, and that she wanted to send her that farewell message. Presently she forgot that she had written the letter and composed another in similar terms, which in time was followed by a third—after which death finally put an end to that indefatigable pen

In mid-October, Mrs Catt sailed in a Japanese steamer for San Francisco, stopping in Honolulu two days. A campaign for woman suffrage by legislative enactment was in progress, and with the co-operation of a descendant of the old Hawaiian Royal Family she organized a suffrage society composed mainly of Hawaiian women. She was greatly interested in these women, the first members of the Polynesian race she had met, many of whom had come to welcome her at the steamer on her arrival They were educated, intelli-

gent and wanted the vote in order to further the interests of the native population throughout the Islands. Mrs. Catt also made a suffrage speech in the Opera House which was attended by the Governor and members of the Territorial legislature.

Her last days at sea before reaching San Francisco were filled with mingled eagerness and dread. Six states were voting on woman suffrage that fall. It had failed to carry in Ohio at a special constitutional election in September, while Arizona, Kansas, Michigan, Oregon and Wisconsin were to vote in the regular election, November 5, the day after her steamer docked in San Francisco. An eager group of friends was waiting for her as she came down the gang-plank. They were going to cast their first vote next day and they inquired what she would most like to do on that great occasion? With memories of the hard fought campaign of 1896 in her mind, she replied instantly, "I want to see Mary S. Sperry vote!" So they came after her bright and early the next day and took her to Mrs. Sperry's polling place. There they found the veteran leader handing out anti-race-track-gambling handbills. She had voted as soon as the polls opened at six o'clock that morning! Mrs. Catt asked what were her thoughts as she cast her first ballot. "First, I said a little prayer of thankfulness that what I had worked for all my life I could now do," said Mrs. Sperry. "Then I voted as expeditiously as I could—and then I came out here and took my station to work for good citizenship."

Mrs. Catt was taken on a tour of the city, and saw women on duty everywhere distributing handbills. At one polling place where the bills had failed to arrive, they chalked the sidewalks in every direction with anti-gambling arguments. That night she was given a reception at the Civic Center during which election returns came in from all over the country. Three of the five states voting on suffrage carried—Arizona, Kansas and Oregon, bringing the total number of enfranchised states up to nine, five of which had been added in the last two years. It was a great home-coming for Carrie Chapman Catt! Next day she started for New York where her arrival

as the pioneer feminist voyager around the world was hailed by the metropolitan press

On the evening of November 19, the New York Woman Suffrage Party staged an official welcome in Carnegie Hall, the house being sold out. A processional called "The March of Progress" had been written, words and music, by Frederika Cooke for the occasion. When the ovation was over, Mrs. Catt, looking very tall and thin—her clothes literally had to be pinned around her so much weight had she lost in the tropics—but years younger than when she had sailed away, nearly two years before, made her home-coming speech.

The picture she presented was of women in all stages of revolt, from Europe through the Moslem countries of the Near East and North Africa to India, revolutionary China and modern Japan. She spoke of the open rebellion of women in China and the beginnings of it in India.

When she finished, Miss Hay, who was presiding, announced that no welcome would be so sweet to Mrs. Catt as money given to the cause, and asked for \$100 pledges. They came thick and fast, and if there was a pause Miss Hay miraculously heard pledges inaudible to others from persons she located here and there in the audience who promptly validated them. Then a flock of pretty girls were let loose with collection baskets, and the *New York Tribune* in a glowing report next morning said Miss Hay raised \$5,000 in fifteen minutes!

8.

*Congress at Budapest, 1913*

For several reasons Mrs Catt wished to retire from the presidency of the Alliance at the next congress, which was to take place in Budapest the following June, 1913. The main reason was her conviction that the time had come for the drive for nationwide suffrage in the United States, and she wished to devote herself exclusively to that effort. She notified the Alliance officers of her intention and requested them to choose a candidate to succeed her. The announcement filled them with consternation. Frau Lindemann in an eloquent letter besought her to reconsider.

Our president must be a woman from the English-speaking nations, for not only are they the classic background of our movement, but English is the nearest approach to a universal language that we have. But Mrs Fawcett would object that the reason you give for withdrawing is much more in force in her case. Besides she is older. Every American leader would give the same reason that you have given, as it is the same country for which you want to use your time.

The greatest good we bring away from our congresses is that we have seen you do your work as president there. You do more than just preside. You fill the formalities of your office with life which refreshes all.

These meetings every two years are as a bath of regeneration, in which the regenerating agent is your spirit. I should consider it an irreparable loss just on these very deepest grounds if you carry out the threat of withdrawing.

*Dear Mrs Catt, you have many splendid workers in America, and you can give the greater part of your time to your country. We have only you!*

Just as she was about to sail for Europe, news came that the Territorial legislature of Alaska by the first act passed at its first session had given votes to Alaskan women! It was a good omen, and later in Budapest she received a cable message saying that the Illinois Legislature had granted women presidential and municipal suffrage. There was no mistaking the significance of the Illinois

victory Chicago was second only to New York City in size and importance, and in its political implications this was the greatest strategic advance so far registered. It was a great introduction to the coming New York campaign.

On the way to Hungary, she stopped for two weeks in England and attended many suffrage meetings, "some being militant meetings which seemed constitutional and some constitutional meetings which seemed decidedly militant," she wrote *The Woman's Journal*. She was struck with the tension apparent in the most conservative circles. "The government will keep on till it makes us all militants," was a common remark. Her letter to the *Journal* continues:

During the past week I have heard more incendiary talk than I have heard at home in my whole life. I have never seen anything which can compare with the present temper of the British public. I have been tempted to think this country on the brink of civil war. The Government has never lost an opportunity to fan the flame of protest. It passes understanding how it could have so little sense in dealing with the problem of militant suffragism.

It violated the rights of free press and free assemblage when it suppressed the militant paper and forbade Hyde Park militant meetings. Immediately, labor, socialist and other organizations protested infringement of constitutional rights. There was a huge meeting in Trafalgar Square of thirty thousand people, a thrilling sight. The organizations came in with bands, music, flags, some singing the "Marseillaise." It made one feel he was present at some new redemption from oppression.<sup>16</sup>

She recorded that Mrs. Pankhurst was out of jail under the "cat-and-mouse" act, and that Holloway was filled with her followers; that she herself had heard a debate in the House of Commons where Mr. Asquith put forth the "sickening" argument that "he had seen no real evidence that the women want the vote!" She observed that the constitutional suffragists had gone in for direct action.<sup>1</sup> In a personal letter she wrote of the militants:

I glory in the fight and spunk of these women, but at the same time I think that they will bring on a reaction that will last as long as the one against Home Rule. They remind me of the cow that kicks over her pail of milk.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> *The Woman's Journal*, May 31, 1913.

<sup>17</sup> C. C. Catt to M. G. Peck, April 20, 1913.

The congress at Budapest was the last demonstration of the international suffrage movement before the World War. Women of all races, religions and continents were there. Twenty-two national branches, and three national committees sent delegates. Here, in a city of superb situation and proud history, the last congress the alliance was to hold for many years assembled to celebrate the great expansion brought about since the Stockholm congress.

The Hungarian suffragists had spared no effort to make the meeting a success, and much credit for it was ascribed to the efficient management of Countess Teleki, the Schwimmer sisters and Vilma Glucklich of the local committee. The city fathers gave a reception at the Fisher Bastion with a collation in the courtyard. When the guests were assembled, the Mayor conducted Mrs. Catt out of the building to a flight of steps leading down to the court. She was dressed in white with a long black cloak falling from her shoulders, and as she appeared against the grim background of the citadel and descended the staircase with her ceremonious escort, the crowd below saw something symbolic in that black and white figure being led forth from the medieval castle. A Bulgarian peasant woman stepped forward and kissed her hand as she reached the ground. A man standing nearby remarked to a companion, "She looks like a queen!" To the man, she was imperial, to the peasant woman, she was a liberator.

In her address at the opening of the congress, as was her custom, she gave a picture of the movement throughout the world. Her announcement that she was retiring from the presidency was met with a petition that she reconsider, signed by all the national presidents, and the impossibility of finding another candidate, finally made her give way. She did so with the greatest reluctance for she had promised on the strength of being relieved of international work, to lead the crucial New York suffrage campaign, and the New York campaign was not going to be "just another state campaign"—it was the opening of the final struggle for suffrage by Federal amendment.

*War Breaks on the Alliance*

A year later, in July, 1914, Mrs Catt left the New York suffrage campaign (which she was then directing) long enough to attend an Alliance board meeting at the new international headquarters in London. Accompanied by Miss Hay and Mrs Stanley McCormick, she arrived in London July 9, and for a week attended daily board meetings. There were matters of importance to discuss, and between the meetings there were many social invitations. One of these, tendered by the suffrage members of the House of Commons, was for a tea on the Terrace of the House, at which Lord Robert Cecil for the Unionists and Ramsay Macdonald for the Laborites asserted that the next British Government would be obliged to make suffrage a party measure. The Women's Social and Political Union by this time was burning buildings and had horsewhipped an insulting Cabinet minister in the London streets. Attending a debate in the Commons, Mrs Catt heard a new argument against the cause, when one member said that England's Oriental colonies would not tolerate being ruled by a country where women had political power and were in the majority. She felt that perhaps the imperialists had something of a point there.

Going to Hyde Park on Sunday to hear the soapbox orators, she was struck by the startling change in the scene since the year before. Then, the crowd had been turbulent and threatening about the suffrage stands. Now, the suffrage stands were deserted and throngs were gathered about speakers who were warning them of imminent war with Germany. This fear of war so omnipresent in the continental mind seemed to her an unreal nightmare, and she was amazed to find the stolid British giving way to it. A few days later, July 25, Servia replied to the Austrian ultimatum, and amid





"International"

DEPARTURE FOR THE GENEVA CONGRESS OF THE ALLIANCE, 1920

*Left to Right—Front Row—Helen Ring Robinson, Mrs. Catt, Mrs. Josephus Daniels, Mrs. James W. Alger  
Rear—Jane Manners, A. Robinson, Constance Drexel, Marjorie Shuler and Emma Nast*



INTERNATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE, ROME 1923

*Left to Right—Seated*—Unknown; Maud Wood Park; Miss Qvam; Mrs. F. M. Qvam;  
Unknown; Mme Hoda Charaoui; next two unknown.

*Standing*—Annie Fürühjelm; Unknown; Mme Girardet-Vielle; Chrystal Macmillan; Mrs. Anna Lindemann;  
Mme DeWitt Schlumberger; Mrs. Catt; Rosa Manus; Mrs. Corbett Ashby;  
Mrs. Anna Wicksell; Mrs. Adele Schreiber Krieger; Bertha Lutz

a horrified suspense Europe looked on while Vienna, Berlin and St Petersburg began the race of dispatches and conversations of July 26 and 27

Even then, Mrs Catt could not believe that civilized governments really meant war, they must be sparring for good bargaining position. Realizing the fateful possibilities of the diplomatic interchange, however, she joined with the officers of the Alliance in drawing up a manifesto to the governments of Europe, which was presented to Lord Grey and all the European ambassadors in London

In this dread hour [the manifesto read in part] when the fate of Europe depends on decisions which women have no power to shape, we, realizing our responsibility as mothers of the race, cannot stand passively by. Powerless though we be politically, we call upon the governments of our several countries to avert the threatened and unparalleled disaster. Women see all they most reverence and treasure, the home, the family, the race, subjected to certain damage which they are powerless to avert or assuage. Whatever its result, the conflict will leave mankind the poorer, will set back civilization, check the amelioration in the condition of the masses on which the welfare of nations depends. We, women of twenty-six countries in the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, appeal to you to leave untried no method of conciliation or arbitration which may avert deluging half the civilized world in blood

German, French, Austrian and English women together penned those solemn words. Never had their political nonentity been bitterer to them. But time for words was past and those friends of reason and justice separated to go home to their respective countries where they were to live four years incommunicado except for *Jus Suffragii*, their international paper, which continued to appear throughout the war years.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup> On the first Christmas of the war, some leading suffragists of England addressed an open letter to their former co-workers in Germany and Austria from which the following are excerpts

"Some of us wish to send you a word at this sad Christmastide, though we can but speak through the press. The Christmas message sounds like a mockery to a world at war, but those of us who wish for peace may surely offer a solemn greeting to such of you who feel as we do. Do not let us forget that our very anguish unites us, that we are passing together through the same experiences of pain and grief. Though our sons are sent to slay each other, we will let no bitterness enter into this

Mrs Catt and Miss Hay had engaged return passage from London on a German steamer, "The Kaiser Wilhelm," touching at Southampton, July 29. The ship did not dare enter the harbor and the embarking passengers went out to it on a tender. When they left England, Austria had declared war on Servia, and Russia had mobilized against Austria. Each day on the western voyage the passengers hung round the wireless station which issued continuous bulletins. Germany warns Russia, Austria declares war on Russia, Germany mobilizes but reassures France, France mobilizes, England adjures the universe at large and the Fourth of August arrives. Old England's fleet was on the trail of the German liners, and the captain of "The Kaiser Wilhelm" never left the bridge of his ship as she rushed, far off her regular course and without a light showing, headlong toward New York harbor. The haven was reached in safety and the hunted ship was interned. "The Kaiser Wilhelm" had made its last voyage under the German flag.

During those days on the ocean Mrs Catt did some strenuous thinking. She reflected on her assumption that the orators in Hyde Park had been crazy to suggest the possibility of war, when in fact war was distant a mere matter of hours. She was shocked at the discrepancy between what she had supposed to be a stable civilization and the present state of Europe. The peace forces of the world had been swept away like chaff before the storm along with their futile axioms. She thought with sadness of the many European friends in the Alliance, and wondered what the war was going to do to their cause? It was borne in upon her that the Alliance must be kept a haven of refuge where all could continue to meet on common ground free from the passions of war, so that when peace returned they could begin together where they left off. There must be no blockade of thought and spiritual sympathy in the Alliance.

tragedy, made sacred by the lifeblood of our best, nor mar with hate the heroism of their sacrifice

"We hope it may lessen your anxiety to learn we are doing our utmost to soften the lot of your civilians and war prisoners within our shores, even as we rely on your goodness of heart to do the same for ours. Do you not feel with us that the vast slaughter in our opposing armies is a stain on civilization and Christianity? Do not humanity and commonsense alike prompt us to join hands with the women of neutral countries, and urge our rulers to stay further bloodshed?"

But if the war was a tragedy for the race and the woman's cause, the wrath of man had suddenly simplified her personal dilemma for the troubled leader. During the few days she was on the ocean the burden of international work had been lifted from her shoulders and flung to the winds, and when she reached home she was free to devote her whole energy to the New York campaign



PART V

*The Federal Amendment Campaign*





## 1.

### *The First New York Campaign, 1915*

The climactic years of the long struggle for the enfranchisement of women had now been reached, years that were to call for all that their leaders had of moral stamina and physical endurance, years that saw the final drive on Congress to submit a Federal amendment and the nation-wide campaign for ratification.

The demand for a Federal amendment was not new, it had been presented by the suffragists to every successive Congress since the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments gave equal citizenship and the vote to the freedmen at the close of the Civil War. It was proposed as the Sixteenth Amendment, then as the Seventeenth, then as the Eighteenth, until it was finally adopted as the Nineteenth in 1920, fifty-one years after its original introduction. But not until the period of the World War had the movement reached proportions that warranted an organized drive on Congress to submit a suffrage amendment to the Constitution. Chief among the indications that the time was near for Federal action was the law passed by the Illinois Legislature in 1913 conferring presidential and municipal suffrage on women, the fact that seven states voted on the question at the polls in 1914, while four eastern states, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, were preparing campaigns for 1915. Portents of this magnitude could not be disregarded and they were clearly recognized by the suffragists when the eruption of the First World War cast its black shadow over all normal developments.

The shattering effect of the European explosion was immediately registered in the closing of the New York Stock Exchange, in the dislocation of business, and in the unloosing of a war of conflicting propaganda. By nature and tradition the nation was

thoroughly unmilitary. A strong isolationist bloc in Congress immediately proclaimed that this was no war that concerned us. The President exhorted the people to be "neutral not only in acts but in thought," while the Secretary of State was a pacifist, and the Secretary of War not far behind. Nevertheless, the tremendous struggle rending Europe excited enormous repercussions here. The invasion of Belgium and France aroused deep sympathy for those countries, while the German element in our population naturally responded to German propaganda for non-intervention, and the peace societies held meetings all over the country. In face of all this, it was a well-nigh impossible task to keep votes for women a major issue in the public eye, and yet Mrs. Catt swore that neither things present nor things to come should hold the cause back now that its time had come to move.

In the first days of the war, Rosika Schwimmer came to this country with a petition from European women to the American President to offer his services as a mediator between the warring governments. As soon as she arrived in this country Miss Schwimmer invoked Mrs. Catt's good offices. Mrs. Catt took her to see Secretary of State Bryan, who in turn introduced her to the President. Miss Schwimmer remained in this country speaking for the suffrage campaign in Ohio and at peace meetings, then achieved extraordinary publicity as the inspirer of the "Peace Ship" project sponsored by Henry Ford, which took her back to Europe in 1915.

A number of other "enemy alien" women, stranded in England by the war, came to America recommended by friends in the Alliance to Mrs. Catt, and insofar as she could she helped them to obtain employment. A letter written to Mrs. Fawcett, in September 1914, furnishes a glimpse into the American scene during these first weeks of the war.

We are hard hit financially. Industrial securities are not paying dividends. The stock exchange is still closed. Wheat in the West is stored by the hundreds of thousands of tons, and the farmers cannot sell it. In the South, cotton is piled high in the storehouses, and textile firms are closed down because chemicals which they formerly got from Germany cannot be had now. The cost of living here as elsewhere has risen. Charity associa-

tions are looking forward to a hard winter. Large sums are being collected for the Red Cross, and in consequence of these things our own campaign fund is likely to suffer.

The campaign alluded to was for the first New York referendum on woman suffrage in 1915. Of all the state suffrage campaigns—and there were fifty-two of them—that which carried New York over into the suffrage column was incomparably the most momentous. It was well called "The Decisive Battle" and given a chapter by itself in *Woman Suffrage and Politics*, that spirited study of the movement written by Mrs. Catt and Mrs. Shuler.<sup>19</sup> The New York campaign marked the point at which suffrage strategy turned from the states to Congress in the last phase of the struggle.

Let us consider for a moment the task confronting the New York suffragists. The Empire State stood first in population, wealth and national prestige. It had ten million inhabitants, one tenth of the nation. Half of this immense population lived in Greater New York, where on the East Side they were crowded seven hundred to the acre, with a large colored colony in Harlem. There were more Germans in New York than in Berlin, more Irish than in Dublin, as many Italians as in Florence. But not all the foreign-born were in New York City, a line of factory towns extended from Albany to Buffalo, each with its foreign language colony. Roughly speaking, from Albany westward and northward the state was Republican, while the Metropolitan district was controlled by Democratic Tammany. Neither machine was in the faintest degree friendly to enfranchising women. In fact, both parties detested the idea.

Mrs. Catt was commandeered to lead the campaign. All but one of the suffrage organizations in the state joined the Empire State Campaign Committee of which she was made chairman. On coming into possession of some money, the first thing she did was to hand over a substantial sum to the campaign fund, on condition that four times the amount be raised throughout the state. Her

<sup>19</sup> Published by Scribners, 1923.

condition was promptly met, and when she handed her check to Mrs Charles L Tiffany, the campaign treasurer, she said, "Katrina, this is about the happiest moment of my life; *at last we're off!*" She knew they were facing the climactic years of their cause, that they were entering upon the greatest effort to accomplish a reform by constitutional means which this or any other country has seen. She was fifty-four years old, rich in experience, unrivalled in all the arts of dynamic leadership. Perhaps her greatest endowment was courage, she was at her best when the fight was hottest. At no time in her life had she looked the part with greater distinction. The strength and fineness of her features, her dignity and amiability, the humor and charm of her smile had lost nothing with advancing years. She had that air of repose which sometimes is acquired by people whose lives are passed in turmoil and who therefore take it as the normal state of existence. There was about her the fascination of a contradictory personality, for under all her crusading zeal there was a cool cynicism about the perfectibility of mankind. To those who divined this inner skepticism, there was something tragic in her ceaseless devotion to her cause. Marie Jenney Howe, one of her lieutenants, coming out of a business meeting of the Empire State Campaign Committee, remarked to a companion, "When she looks at me, my heart comes up in my throat. I see in her face all she has lived through and I can refuse her nothing she might ask."

She was an incomparable organizer. To watch her go into a meeting in Canandaigua or Batavia, where small-town women and farmers' wives were reluctantly assembled knowing they were going to be asked to do something they dreaded—to watch the troubled expression on their faces change to curiosity, good humor, interest, zeal, was a revelation of the manner in which a cause should be presented. She spoke in every town in the state, and wherever she spoke her opponents were left on the defensive and her supporters endowed with a feeling of superiority.

She began by advertising a campaign workers' school to be held in the Woman Suffrage Party headquarters in New York. She

expected two or three dozen students from New York State, and was petrified when a hundred and fifty came from eighteen states! She had secured outstanding instructors. Her own pungent advice was treasured like the oracles of Delphi. Perhaps the best thing the students got from their inimitable teacher was something she had got in her youth from Lucy Stone and Miss Anthony—an abiding sense of the background, the philosophy and the social significance of their movement.

In the Empire State Campaign Committee she had an able group of co-workers. Mrs. Raymond Brown representing the state suffrage association, Mary Garrett Hay, the Woman Suffrage Party; Mrs. Howard Mansfield, the Equal Franchise Society; Katherine Tiffany, the College League, James Lees Laidlaw, the Men's League, Rose Young, Press Chairman, Mrs. Norman de R. Whitehouse, Publicity, Mrs. John W. Alexander, Art. At the outset she handed over New York City to the Woman Suffrage Party to do or die with, while she concentrated on the state which was divided into twelve campaign districts. New York City was the first, with Mary Garrett Hay, chairman, the second, Long Island, was in charge of Mrs. Raymond Brown, the third, in charge of Miss Leila Stott, Albany; the fourth, Mrs. Frank Paddock, Malone; the fifth, Harriet May Mills, Syracuse; the sixth, Mrs. Helen B. Owens, Ithaca; the seventh, Mrs. Alice Clement, Rochester, the eighth, Mrs. Nettie Rogers Shuler, Buffalo, the ninth, Mrs. Carl Osterheld, Yonkers; the tenth, Mrs. Gordon Norrie, Staatsburg, the eleventh, Miss Evanetta Hare and Mrs. George Notman, Keene Valley, the twelfth, Miss Lucy C. Watson, Utica. Under the direction of these twelve district chairmen were a hundred and fifty Assembly District leaders; under the district leaders it was the aim to secure 5,524 election district captains.

The question was to be submitted to the voters in November 1915. In January 1914, Mrs. Catt made an organizing tour of the state. In five weeks she visited fifty-two of the sixty-two counties, held ninety meetings, and raised \$20,000. In Ithaca, Mrs. Helen Owens arranged a Cornell University mass meeting and also had

Mrs Catt on the program of the Farmers Institute, where she spoke to fifteen hundred farmers, President Schurman of the University and former President Andrew D White came out with endorsements of the suffrage amendment

The General Federation of Women's Clubs, which so far had been neutral on the suffrage question, met for its biennial convention in Chicago that year, and Mrs Catt was invited to address it When she appeared on the platform, escorted by Mrs Pennybacker, a shout of welcome went up from the delegates who rose and cheered her Next day a suffrage resolution was overwhelmingly passed The endorsement by the largest women's organization in the country was an event of great importance to the New York campaign

Another event of the greatest significance occurred a few weeks later in the summer The newspapers of September 18, 1914 carried the notice of the death of Mrs Frank Leslie of New York, and a few days later it was reported that the bulk of the Leslie estate had been willed to Mrs Catt for the suffrage movement Mrs Leslie in her day had been well known as the publisher of *Leslie's Weekly* On her husband's death, she had taken over his publishing business and made it the best paying journalistic enterprise of the eighties and nineties She had been a great beauty as well as an excellent business executive, had married four times and divorced three of her husbands—the last unfortunate experiment being with a brother of Oscar Wilde—and had lived to the age of seventy-eight She had no near relatives and the disposal of her money must have been a matter of long and careful thought with her

She had known Susan B Anthony, and her news gathering eye had rested upon Miss Anthony's successor She had recognized the ability with which Mrs Catt undertook large plans She had watched the suffrage movement leap ahead wherever Mrs Catt put her hand to it In her old age she had withdrawn from society except for occasional receptions which she gave with mid-Victorian

formality At these affairs she would sit in state on a throne-like chair, bepowdered, berouged and bejewelled, affable and alert for a couple of hours, and she always invited Mrs Catt and contrived to talk longer with her than with the other guests Once, as Mrs Catt passed her in the Astor Hotel lobby between sessions of a convention, Mrs Leslie beckoned and Mrs Catt sat down and talked with her awhile, the longest conversation they ever had

Whenever the suffrage leader gave a reception, she invited Mrs Leslie who made a point of coming In making contributions to the cause—which never exceeded \$100 at a time—the old publisher was accustomed to say, "To benefit the cause to which you, like Susan B Anthony, are devoting your life" Once she wrote, "When I come to die, you will find that like yourself I am interested in woman's advancement" This was the extent of their friendship as far as personal intercourse went She was many years older than the suffrage leader whom she was content to sit and watch attentively—strange, intelligent, passionate, self-centered little creature, with her flashy jewelry and her feminist instinct and her bank account, the amount of which even her lawyer did not know

A few days after the death notice, and before she knew anything of the legacy, a telephone call came to Mrs Catt asking an appointment with her for a representative of the law firm of Sullivan and Cromwell Now Sullivan and Cromwell were great names in the legal world and she was troubled by the request She had been receiving threatening letters of late, and she wondered if enemies of the cause were going to tangle her up in a lawsuit She set a morning hour next day, and Mr Cromwell himself came and read Mrs Frank Leslie's will to her Astounded, she listened to bequests down to Article Twelve of the will, which read as follows:

All the rest, residue and remainder of my estate I do give, devise and bequeath unto my friend, Mrs Carrie Chapman Catt of the City of New York It is my expectation and wish that she turn all of my said residuary estate into cash, and apply the whole thereof as she shall think most advisable to the furtherance of the cause of woman's suffrage, to which she has so worthily devoted so many years of her life

Article Sixteen of the will provided:

Should any beneficiary or next of kin of mine contest this will, . . . I hereby direct that he or she shall thereupon be deprived of all interest in my estate and I expressly revoke and annul all provisions for his or her benefit

After Mr. Cromwell's departure, Mrs. Catt returned to the room where she had left Miss Hay and Clara Hyde, her secretary. A pink spot on each cheek bespoke her excitement as she exclaimed, "I'm an heiress!" It was plain that Cromwell, who was one of the executors, was expecting trouble. He wanted proof that Mrs. Leslie had shown interest in the suffrage movement over a term of years. It was Sunday and the city office buildings were closed, but Miss Hyde hastened downtown to the suffrage headquarters, went through the files of correspondence in the Sabbath stillness and brought back those notes written over many years by Mrs. Leslie to accompany her suffrage checks. If proof were needed that it pays to have a good filing system, here it is.

As soon as the papers carried the story of the Leslie will, Mrs. Catt had to hire an extra clerk to take care of the deluge of begging letters! Then the hitherto unheard-of next-of-kin and alleged creditors and people with "verbal contracts" put in an appearance through their lawyers, and the legal battle to determine whether or not a citizen can dispose of his property as he likes was on. Lawsuits over the Leslie estate lasted until the year 1921! Both the executors were antisuffragists. One of them expressed himself as "deeply disappointed that the money I made for her (sic) should not have gone to some worthy charity and done some good for humanity." On one occasion, all the lawyers got together and discussed settling the claims out of court and submitted their proposals to Mrs. Catt. Her reply was

I feel that I have no right to concede these outrageous claims, and that I would rather go into the contest and lose than to give away money which I have no right to give



It is a pity that Mrs Leslie could not have witnessed the onslaught upon the crew of legacy hunters and rapacious lawyers, and have heard Mrs Catt's sound tribute to the maker of the will

I find that Mrs Leslie was tight fisted when people wanted to borrow money of her. On the other hand, she was open handed to help women in need. She got their writings printed, she helped to get actresses, singers and musicians audiences and fees. Never after she was herself a business woman did she turn her back upon an appeal presented by any meritorious woman. When she made this will, she may have had the motive as some people think of building a monument to herself. Is there anything illegal about arranging for one's own monument? For it is only a difference of point of view whether a monument shall be built of marble, or be written in the history of a country. If this was one of Mrs Leslie's motives, she certainly had another, and that was to help the women of the world to get their own.

Eventually she had to compromise and settle several claims in order not to waste the entire estate in litigation. The nervous strain of the legal complications—once she was handed a subpoena just as she was going on the stage to make a speech—on top of her campaign efforts was a serious drain on her energy. There were times when she wondered if she could pay the price of the Leslie legacy and live long enough to get any of it. What vexed her most was the immediate falling off in campaign subscriptions. Suffragists thought the campaign was financed without further effort on their part and she lost no time in making a public statement that the New York campaign would be over long before the Leslie estate was settled. If her language was so emphatic as to cause surprise, it is easy to see why.

Amid all this inner and outer turmoil, she put forth redoubled efforts with the result that at the fall convention of the New York State Suffrage Association \$95,000 was pledged for the campaign year of 1915. The upstate enrolled membership had been trebled and now numbered 133,000, while New York City reported 131,000. The campaign was off to a good start.

During the following months, New York City was the spectacular end of the state and secured the lion's share of the publicity,

but the fact of deepest significance was that there was not a cross-roads hamlet from New York to Buffalo, between the St Lawrence and Lake Ontario and the Pennsylvania line, that did not have at least one campaign meeting, that was not repeatedly visited by leading women of the county, that was not canvassed house by house, that was not interested by one of the many "stunts" that were abroad in the land during the summer and fall of 1915

On Mother's Day, suffrage sermons were heard in the churches, and if a minister refused to preach one, a woman in his congregation handed out leaflets at the church door. On the Fourth of July, the Woman's Declaration of Independence was read from the court house steps of every county seat in the state. On Labor Day, the Women's Trade Union League had labor speakers for suffrage at the workers' outings. All summer, daylight and torchlight parades were going. Windows of vacant stores were used for display purposes. Poster squads pasted the state with propaganda. Nightly the soapbox orators bored away. At noontide, labor speakers addressed workers in the factories. Lou Rogers, cartoonist, took her easel and a folding platform and toured the state, setting up the easel and talking to crowds in the public squares as she sketched Mrs. Frances Brewer who went with her auctioned off the cartoons, thus paying their expenses. The same Mrs. Brewer made a suffrage speech between bouts at a great prize fight in Madison Square Garden, New York. The most popular propagandists were the good looking girls who flipped griddle cakes in suffrage restaurant windows.

But it was the farmers who had the greatest awakening. They were generally thought to be very conservative and efforts were freely put forth to convert them. Earnest workers went forth daily into the fields to convey the message. The state of mind of one harrassed man who was trying to get his grain in before Sunday is illustrated by his reply to a suffragist who came into the field to ask if he would vote for the amendment, said he, without stopping his work, "I certainly *will* vote for suffrage, *and I hope it chokes you!*"

Mrs Catt was upstate during May and June attending county conventions, and reported two thousand workers giving their time, two hundred speakers available, a number of paid organizers going from county to county, and three thousand women listed as unpaid officials under direction of the Campaign Committee. Such activity as this was not lost on the politicians. State Senator Edgar Brackett, one of the lawyers retained in the Leslie estate settlement, long an opponent of suffrage in the New York Legislature, wrote to Mrs Norman Whitehouse, "I have long struggled to find some logical reason why women should be excluded from the franchise. I shall struggle no longer." When Mrs Catt read the letter, she had a premonition of the fat fee Mr Brackett was going to extract from the estate Mrs Leslie had willed to woman suffrage.

In August every available person was mobilized. In September squads of speakers went out to speak at the sixty-odd county fairs of the state. In October over eighty mass meetings with the best speakers in the country were scheduled, beginning in Buffalo and moving eastward across the state. Mrs Walter McNab Miller took a team of speakers through the towns where factories making war supplies were running twenty-four hours a day, and held night meetings at the plants at the hour when shifts changed and outgoing and incoming workers could be reached. The final feature of the campaign was the parade up Fifth Avenue in New York, Saturday, October 23. That week, the suffrage question had been defeated in New Jersey at a special election, but an undiscouraged New Jersey delegation came with band playing and flags flying to take part in the New York demonstration.

The day was sunny and cold. The bugle sounded at one o'clock, and the head of the column started from Washington Arch northward. At the head, following the platoon of mounted police and the mounted suffrage guard of honor, walked Mrs Catt, accompanied by national officers and the Empire State Campaign Committee. Then came organization after organization of women, carrying their colors, carrying flags, carrying banners with inscriptions, with bands playing. Every county, every city in the state was

there represented. The other campaign states sent delegations. They poured out of the side streets into the avenue to take their appointed places in the column as it came along. When Mrs. Catt reached Central Park, she hastened back to take her place on the reviewing stand in front of the Public Library, where Mayor Mitchel, city officials and other dignitaries with their wives were standing. Late in the afternoon five thousand school teachers led by Katherine Devereux Blake came along with their band, carrying blackboards chalked with inscriptions for banners. It is related that when these women came opposite the antisuffrage Union League Club, an old gentleman who with other club members had been watching the parade through the windows suddenly sprang to his feet and cried, "Schoolteachers! I never realized the menace of this movement before! I'll give a hundred dollars to defeat it. Who'll join me?" and they took up a collection! But worse was to come, for following the teachers came the last scheduled section of the parade, the Men's League for Woman Suffrage, led by James Lees Laidlaw and others of their own members, who looked up at the scandalized faces in the club windows and laughed, glorying in their shame! Six o'clock came and still the marchers poured up the avenue, shopgirls, stenographers, clerks, nurses off duty, everybody who could not get there earlier, walking anyhow, singing popular songs, many a youth locking arms with his sweetheart at the tail of that parade of fifty thousand people. The demonstration was to have been concluded with street meetings throughout the city, but the end of it never was seen, for people went home to dinner leaving the boys and girls marching up the avenue in the windy darkness, singing as they went.

One of those who watched the parade was Henry Allen, former Governor of Kansas, who had come to speak during the last days of the campaign. He had made his first speech in Brooklyn the night before, and the Brooklyn women thought it a poor one and asked Mrs. Catt to send him somewhere else. The morning after the parade he appeared bright and early at headquarters to see Mrs. Catt. He started right in as soon as he was inside the door. "I

always have been a suffragist, but I never got the spirit of this thing till I saw that parade, yesterday *This is not a movement, it is not a campaign, this is a crusade!* I made a bad speech in Brooklyn the other night *Now I can make a speech, and I want to!*" He went from headquarters to take part in the marathon speech planned by Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, leader of Manhattan Borough, which was held on the street at Columbus Circle from 10 a m to 10 p m and there he spent the day, pausing only long enough to give place to other speakers or to eat a sandwich.

Alice Stone Blackwell, who leaned over backward in avoiding over statement, wrote editorially in *The Woman's Journal*

The great suffrage parade in New York City was the most wonderful demonstration of its kind ever made. Not only in numbers, but in organization, dignity and impressiveness it commanded universal admiration and respect. It was a magnificent object lesson.

To Mrs. Norman de R. Whitehouse, Mrs. John Blair and their energetic parade committee, who had spent weeks in organizing it and who carried it through according to schedule, unstinted praise was accorded. It was this performance which placed Mrs. Whitehouse among the foremost New York leaders.

President Wilson voted for suffrage in the New Jersey special election and former President Roosevelt came out for the New York amendment at the last mass meeting of the campaign at the Brooklyn Academy of Music. On election night the New York Campaign Committee stayed in the New York headquarters until midnight, listening to returns. Mrs. Catt, pale and worn with the strain of the last days, read the bulletins as they came in in a cool and steady voice and laid them down with a hand that did not tremble. Many of the field workers from upstate had come down to listen to returns, and to most of them it was their first defeat. They took the bad news from the counties where they had spent the summer, and which they had fondly thought they had converted, with varying emotions. Some, like Peter, went out and wept bitterly, others swore like the soldiers in Flanders. Elsie Benedict,

who had left a new husband in Colorado while she worked in the campaign, and who had spoken from the grandstands of most of the county fairs of the state until her voice gave out, rose and went out with three companions, hired a car and went into the theater district where her voice was miraculously restored to her while she "gave New York a parting earful." Mrs. Whitehouse gathered some companions in another car and they toured the city, announcing to the election crowds that the *second* New York suffrage campaign would start within forty-eight hours with a mass meeting such as the city never had seen before!

All four states, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, failed to win the suffrage amendment, but polled a good vote in favor—in Pennsylvania forty-six per cent of the total, in New York and New Jersey, forty-two per cent, in Massachusetts, thirty-five per cent.

At midnight Mrs. Catt called it a day and made a pithy speech to the weary women in the headquarters. She said the election was not a defeat, but the beginning of the *decisive battle* which would be opened at a mass meeting in Cooper Union, Thursday night. Early next morning she was at her desk in the headquarters to meet the stream of callers bringing cartoons and editorials on the election. On the front page of every paper, the suffrage amendment took chief place. One reporter with an eye for the dramatic told how Elihu Root, who had put his best efforts into a revision of the New York State constitution which went down to defeat by a far larger majority than the suffrage amendment, had sat alone in his great library listening to election returns until far into the night. The contrast between the scene in the crowded suffrage headquarters where Mrs. Catt read the returns, and that in the book-lined room where the old statesman sat alone with bitter thoughts as his work perished, was not unnoticed by the women. Being human, they rejoiced that the suffrage amendment polled a hundred thousand more votes than Mr. Root's constitution, for Mr. Root was wont to say that women should not vote because they did not bear

arms! This particularly annoying argument drew forth from a sardonic suffragist the following ode

O Ladies, let us learn to shoot  
 To make life safe for Elihu Root!  
 While we abroad with guns shall roam,  
 Elihu Root will be safe at home!  
 While we lie bleeding on the ground,  
 Elihu Root will be safe and sound!  
 Then, Ladies, let us learn to shoot  
 To make life safe for Elihu Root!<sup>20</sup>

The *New York World* carried the famous cartoon by Kirby entitled, "Well, Boys, we saved the home!" as well as an election editorial

No other such campaign ever was seen in this state Out of nothing they created a body of opinion that registered hundreds of thousands of votes at the first summons for a radical reform They had no party to build from, no other organization than they were able to form as the work progressed It was to nobody's special interest to aid them, yet their total vote in the first test is a revelation of the astonishing growth of the movement

These statements were literally true It should be added that New York was the cradle of the movement There was long education behind the campaign It is also true that such a fighting machine as the Empire State Campaign organization could hardly have been created without Mrs. Catt's magnetic leadership Never again would the "boys" be able "to save the home" in New York State, as they well knew after the mass meeting at Cooper Union ushered in the second New York suffrage campaign, two days after the first one was defeated

The huge old building on Ninth Street could not begin to hold the thousands who surged around it the night of November 4, 1915 As Mrs. Catt in a blue velvet gown came on the stage, a crack regimental band struck up "See, the Conquering Hero Comes!" but was utterly drowned out by the thunder of applause that greeted

<sup>20</sup> This is the form in which the writer heard the poem from Florence Kelley to whom it gave infinite amusement Mrs. Kelley ascribed it to Mary Winsor

her and the campaign leaders who accompanied her Mary Garrett Hay, as chairman of the New York Woman Suffrage Party, presided at the meeting, and her opening speech sounded to the *New York Tribune* like this—the parentheses being cheers by the audience

Last Tuesday (Hurrah, hurrah')—was a great day in New York (Hurrah, hurrah') Suffrage (Hurrah, hurrah, hurrah')—was not defeated, only postponed! (Hurrah, hurrah, hurrah') All day I have been getting letters from women who never worked before (Hurrah')—saying, "Call me in! I'm ready to work now!" (Hurrah, hurrah, hurrah, hurrah') Let us count our blessings and go forward (Hurrahs ad infinitum')

The appeal for \$100,000 to start the new campaign created an unparalleled scene, voices all over the auditorium clamored for attention. There was not a pause until the lists were closed at the stipulated sum, actually the amount pledged was \$115,000. The impression on the public made by all this was profound. The certainty that the question would be submitted again in 1917, the assurance displayed by the campaign committee that nothing could stop them, the ease with which money flowed, the stamina of workers who ought to be prostrate with disappointment, literally turned defeat into a psychological victory.



## 2.

### *President of National American Woman Suffrage Association*

When Congress assembled in December, 1915, Bill No 1 introduced in both Houses provided for submission of a woman suffrage amendment to the Federal Constitution. Shortly afterward, Dr Anna Howard Shaw announced that she would retire from the presidency of the national association at the next convention. The connection between the two occurrences was clear. The recent suffrage vote rolled up in the four great eastern states had brought the question squarely before Congress, and Dr Shaw, realizing that their movement was approaching the climactic stage, felt physically unequal to the task of carrying it to victory.

Mrs Catt and Miss Hay motored to Washington for the convention which met at the New Willard Hotel in mid-December. On the way they discussed the national situation, state by state, naming over the women who might be considered as successors to the redoubtable Dr Shaw. The only names they left out were their own, for they felt they were pledged to the second New York campaign. It was a great shock to them, therefore, when they reached the convention to find that the delegates from all sections of the country had come to Washington with the set purpose of electing Mrs Catt to lead the drive for the Federal amendment.

The only opposition came from Mrs Catt herself and the New York delegation, and they fought it stubbornly. They were midway in the struggle in the Empire State, they said, and Mrs Catt was pledged to that. State delegations accused the New Yorkers of having no sense of proportion when they rated their state campaign above the national call. "You have half a dozen women in

New York who can direct your campaign, and you know very well you ought to release Mrs. Catt to the national," they said accusingly Mrs Ben Hooper of Wisconsin met Mrs Ogden Reid of New York in the hall outside the room where a nominating conference was going on The two had been schoolmates as girls and Mrs Hooper took Mrs Reid by the shoulders and shook her, saying, "Helen Reid, you go right into that room and tell them you want Mrs Catt to be national president" "I don't want any such thing," replied Mrs Reid hotly "Well, you go in and say it just the same!" Mrs Hooper insisted The pressure grew so overwhelming that the New York delegation finally held a caucus, persuaded Mrs Vira Whitehouse to take the leadership of the New York Campaign Committee, and voted to release Mrs Catt to the national The caucus broke up in abysmal gloom, and Mrs Raymond Brown went with three other New York leaders to a Childs restaurant nearby to get away from their tormentors, striving to conceal their tears as they made a pretense of eating

Having broken New York's resistance, the next thing was to get Mrs Catt's consent to serve as president Harriet Taylor Upton was delegated to take her away from her room, and while she was absent representatives from all the states assembled there When she returned and saw the delegation awaiting her, Mrs Catt closed the door and stood with her back against it, her face flushing and then growing deadly pale as she listened to their appeal On learning that New York had released her, she said she would serve on two conditions first, that the financing of the International Alliance headquarters in London be taken off her hands, second, that she be permitted to choose her national board of officers Her conditions were accepted, and at once she chose Mrs Frank Roessing and Miss Hannah Patterson of Pennsylvania, both of whom were present in the room, to be first vice president and corresponding secretary on the new board

Mrs. Roessing and Miss Patterson had directed the recent Pennsylvania campaign which carried the state outside of Philadelphia. Both women had planned to take a vacation after their labors.

They were greatly taken aback by this sudden elevation to national office and there was a hasty consultation between them while Mrs Catt looked on. They could not well refuse to do what they were asking her to do. Miss Patterson's countenance took on unwonted meekness, and Mrs Roessing spoke in a still, small voice as they gave their assent. Instead of taking a rest they would have to go to New York to live while managing the headquarters there.

Additional names for the national board were promptly submitted by Mrs Catt. Mrs Henry Wade Rogers for treasurer was the only officer from the old board to go on the new. Mrs Stanley McCormick of Massachusetts and Miss Esther Ogden of New Jersey were named second and third vice presidents, Mrs. James Morrisson of Illinois, recording secretary, Mrs Walter McNab Miller of Missouri and Mrs Pattie Ruffner Jacobs of Alabama, auditors.

On the occasion of Dr Shaw's retirement, Mrs Catt sat at the very back of the stage, envying her predecessor her release from responsibility. Midway in the program, Dr Shaw, who had been made honorary president, led the new president to the front of the platform and presented her to the convention. It was Dr Shaw's hour, she had been receiving grateful tributes from the convention, but at this moment such a pandemonium of cheers and cries went up as had not been heard before. Some were present who recalled the scene, sixteen years before, when Susan B Anthony had led Mrs Catt to the front of the platform as her chosen successor. They compared their memory of that young leader with this older, more majestic figure who looked so tall standing beside Dr Shaw. She waited till the tumult died down, then her clear voice came down on the convention like a dash of ice water. It was in no soft mood that she came back into the presidency.

When I came to this convention, I had no more idea of accepting the presidency of this association than I had of going to Kamchatka. Mrs Whitehouse made the best speech I ever heard when she accepted office as vice president of the New York Woman Suffrage Party; she said, "I'm young, I'm healthy, I'm willing to work and I will do my best!" Now I'm old, I'm unhealthy, and I'm tired out, but I will do my best! I am an unwilling victim as you all know, and I feel I have a right to demand in return for

my acceptance that, if you have any complaint about the conduct of the association or that of the board, you will bring your complaint first to us. Let us get together and sink differences. Let us call upon those psychological sources of strength innate in all of us. Let organization be the watchword of the year. It has been my hobby for the last hundred years. Whether for Congressional work or state work, the only solid foundation is organization.

We must look for women who have political talent. We who have come down from the last generation are reformers, but reformers are poor politicians. Then let us strengthen our weakness by careful specialization. Let us put out of our lives all the non-essentials, and devote ourselves first of all to this great cause. I have come to my task in an appalling state of unpreparedness. I will do my best, but you must all give me your help. Let us work harder this year than ever we have before. Let us make our slogan, "Get together!"

Besides conducting several work conferences at the convention, she spoke at hearings before the Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage<sup>21</sup> and the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives.

Alice Paul and speakers of the Congressional Union followed her at the House Committee hearing, and it was not long before the Federal amendment was lost sight of in the bitter debate between the Democratic members of the committee and the Union speakers because of the anti-Democratic activities of the Congressional Union in the recent election. Mr. Taggart of Kansas assailed them for having tried to defeat friendly members of the very committee before which they were now appearing, including Mr. Taylor of Colorado, sponsor of the joint resolution for submission of the Federal amendment now before the committee.<sup>1</sup> The impenitence of Alice Paul and her companions in their replies and their assumption that the policy of their organization was responsible for the "more respectful treatment" Congress was giving the question so infuriated the Democratic members of the committee that they did more talking than the women speakers. After the scrimmage with Alice Paul's delegation was over, the antisuffragists appeared to speak against the suffrage resolution. Chairman Webb had said as a parting shot at the Congressional Union that there was one

<sup>21</sup> Speech given in full in *History of Woman Suffrage*, Vol. 5, p. 752

plank that would not be in the Democratic platform in 1916, and that was a suffrage plank! The anti's hearing this naturally thought that they would be given a friendly reception, but to their surprise they, too, were heckled at every turn. Apparently the irate gentlemen could not distinguish friend from foe! When the Congressional Union appeared before the Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage, Senator Thomas, its chairman, a lifelong supporter of the Suffrage movement, declined to preside at the hearing because the Union had campaigned against him.

A brief explanation should be offered here in regard to a disagreement about policy which had been disturbing the national suffrage association for some time past and which was finally settled at this convention. In 1912, Alice Paul, a young American who had taken part in the English militant movement under Mrs. Pankhurst, was made chairman of the Congressional Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and did brilliant work during the year 1913. Her report at the national convention of that year showed that she had organized a society called the Congressional Union, on the plan of the militant society of England, and that the program and finances of the Congressional Union were indistinguishable from the program and finances of the Congressional Committee of the national suffrage association. Mrs. Catt who heard Miss Paul's report at the 1913 convention was struck by the fact that none of the funds raised for the Congressional Committee of the national suffrage association were paid into the national treasury, and that the national treasury appropriated nothing for the work of its standing Congressional Committee. As a matter of fact, the Congressional Committee seemed to have eloped with the Congressional Union! She listened attentively to the recital of Miss Paul's achievements, appreciating their significance as no one else could. Back in 1895 she herself had organized a committee, undertaken to raise its funds, and had made it the rejuvenating force of the association just as this young woman was doing, but with one important difference—Mrs. Catt worked through the national association and treasury. When her committee became so

predominant that it aroused the jealousy of certain of her fellow officers, she acquiesced in its abolition. So she listened attentively to Alice Paul's report, and at its conclusion moved that the part which represented the work of the Congressional Committee be accepted. Then she inquired why no appropriation for the work of the committee and no statement of its expenditures appeared in the national treasurer's report? Miss Paul replied that the committee raised its own funds, and that these did not pass through the national treasury. At this point the convention caught the drift of the colloquy and listened attentively. Mrs. Catt went on to offer a resolution that the national association continue the Congressional Committee "in such way as to remove further cause of embarrassment to the association." This clause was explained to mean the establishment of financial and official control over the committee and its activities.

This discussion, it will be noted, took place at the national convention of 1913. Subsequently, the Congressional Union continued as an independent organization on the lines of the Women's Social and Political Union of Great Britain. It announced the Federal amendment as its sole objective, to be furthered by active opposition to the political party in power, unless or until the latter put the Federal amendment through Congress. Later it changed its name to the Woman's Party.

The national suffrage association continued the policy of non-partisanship. They believed that to campaign against an influential friend of the suffrage cause like Senator Thomas of Colorado because he was a Democrat and his party had not endorsed the Federal amendment, especially since the Republicans had not endorsed it either, was like cutting off the nose to spite the face. They believed that if suffragists went into political campaigns it should be to support their friends and defeat their enemies in both parties, a policy which the man in the street could understand.

The national association was not responsible for the policy of the Congressional Union, but it was responsible for a serious blunder toward the end of Dr. Shaw's administration when it endorsed

a second Federal amendment known as the Shafroth Amendment. This amendment as a supplement to the original suffrage amendment was sincerely well meant, but a large section of the suffrage association was bitterly opposed to having two suffrage amendments pending simultaneously in Congress. As soon as she was elected, Mrs. Catt lost no time, therefore, in getting the Shafroth Amendment dropped. She met with a committee of the Congressional Union in an attempt to agree on a common policy of work during the present session of Congress. She argued to Alice Paul that the Democrats never had had sufficient members in both Houses of Congress to put through the Federal amendment, and that to campaign against the party for not doing something which it had not the power to do was unrealistic. The suffrage amendment, like every other change in the Constitution since the Fifteenth Amendment, would have to be put through Congress on bi-partisan support. It was the business of suffragists to get as many friends in both parties in Congress as they could until they had enough to carry their measure. The result of the negotiations with the Congressional Union was negative, both sides failing to agree on anything beyond conferring from time to time.

At the close of the 1915 convention, Mrs. Catt planned a comprehensive survey of all the non-suffrage states. These were parcelled out among the national officers to be visited on tours of inspection designed to build up organization and create close co-operation with national headquarters. State campaigns were under way in Iowa, West Virginia and the hardy perennial, South Dakota. These must be supported with workers and funds. New and larger national headquarters were needed, and the entire fourteenth floor of the Burrell Building at 171 Madison Avenue, New York, was secured.

The first of February, 1916, she started West on the familiar old job of "visiting the states." It was presidential year, the Republican national convention was to meet in Chicago, the Democratic convention in St. Louis, and the suffrage association proposed to make a grand demonstration at both of them when demanding a

plank in the party platforms endorsing suffrage by Federal amendment This demonstration was to be a show of strength as well as a plea for justice A letter written on the train the day she started on this tour indicates Mrs Catt's state of mind and body <sup>22</sup>

I am en route to Chicago I have the earache, toothache and headache resulting from neglected dentistry After having borne these three aches for a week, I went to the dentist this afternoon and had the nerve out I went home sick and faint but acheless, and started for the train Then the anesthetic departed, my face began to swell, and the old ache in all its glory is here We thought we would have congressional conferences in all the states, and I thought I would go as melting-pot director where there was trouble My mission in Chicago is to teach "Love thy neighbor," and get to work on the biggest demonstration the whole national can pull off at the time the Republicans and Progressives hold their national conventions Then I go to Des Moines to survey that field, and on to St Louis to see what they can do for the Democratic convention Then home for two minutes I am going to the Mississippi Valley Conference in May How do I like my board? Fine! Mrs Roessing is in Washington and sticks to Congressional work Hannah Patterson is the best all around office director I ever saw The treasurer [Mrs Rogers] is on her job It is a good working board and we all agree to have an early convention and elect someone else in our places!

The letter was laid aside and twelve days later the following was added

I never had a chance to get this into an envelope, and don't know what I have written I shall be home in a few hours and at least I may say I have no aches All is well in three cities, everybody loves everybody else Thursday in St Louis I made four speeches totalling three and a half hours It was the climax of the hardest eleven days' work I ever put in!

In Chicago, the women's organizations of the whole state were enlisted in the project of a suffrage parade at the time of the Republican convention In St Louis, the same support was enlisted for a "walkless parade" during the Democratic convention Mrs. Catt went to Des Moines for conferences with the worried Iowa Campaign Committee, who were facing a suffrage referendum in June, and left them greatly encouraged by her promise to return to

<sup>22</sup> Letter to M G Peck, February 2, 1916.



the state in April. On coming back East, she visited New England, holding state organization conferences.

She was kept informed about events in Washington by Mrs. Roessing. Chairman Webb of the House Judiciary Committee was opposing the suffrage amendment on states rights grounds, while at the same time he himself was introducing a prohibition amendment! The Senate Committee on Suffrage reported with only one dissenting vote in favor of submitting the suffrage amendment. Mr. Wilson and all members of his Cabinet except Secretary of State Lansing were favorable to suffrage by state action. Mrs. Catt was straining every nerve to take advantage of the tide. She continued her state conferences in March and April. If only planks could be got into the party platforms, the move on Congress could be pushed with power. In May, she held a Mississippi Valley conference in Minneapolis, which rivalled a national convention in numbers and activity. Alice Stone Blackwell wrote of it in *The Woman's Journal*.

Mrs. Catt was the soul of the conference, its inspiration and driving force. She talked to us like a Dutch uncle or like a mother in the days of the matriarchate. She charged the suffrage organizations over the country with inefficiency and convicted us of sin. She made those who had supposed themselves the most ardent feel that their zeal hitherto had been a pale and ineffectual flame, and she aroused it to an intenser glow. She showed how the strength of the cause can be made irresistible if only organized and mobilized. "We must raise our standards," she warned. "My prescription is an organization in every Congressional district within the next year."

Preceding and following the Minneapolis conference, she gave a month to the Iowa campaign, speaking at one-night stands all over the state. She went to Topeka to the convention of Kansas suffragists, who although they had the vote were keeping their association alive in order to support the Federal Amendment. Here she was on old campaign ground and was the guest of Judge and Mrs. W. A. Johnston, friends of the campaign of 1894.

### *Planks in the Party Platform*

Mrs Catt, Mrs Henry Wade Rogers, and other leaders arrived in Chicago a week in advance of the Republican national convention, and were met by the news that the Iowa suffrage campaign had resulted in defeat. This disappointment only stiffened the determination of the suffragists to get a plank in the Republican platform. Wednesday, June 7, was the day set for the suffrage parade to the Coliseum, where they were to present the plank to the Resolutions Committee. The parade was to start from Grant Park and proceed along Michigan Avenue, headed by the national officers and followed by the plank carried on a large American flag held flat by twelve young women representing the suffrage states, timed so that the plank and the national board of officers would arrive at the Coliseum at four o'clock, the hour set for the hearing.

Wednesday dawned in a pouring rain whipped by a wild wind! When the suffragists assembled in the Princess Theater for their morning meeting, Mrs Catt asked for an opinion about calling off the parade on account of the weather. From all parts of the room came cries of "NO!" "Good!" exclaimed their leader heartily "Our parade will start as scheduled, but I advise raincoats and rubbers." Noon extras of the Chicago papers announced that the parade had been called off, and much effort was spent contradicting the false report. To complete the chaos, the Republican Resolutions Committee notified Mrs Catt that they would expect her to appear half an hour earlier than the hour previously set for the hearing! As Henry Cabot Lodge was chairman of the Resolutions Committee, the women naturally thought the change of hour was intended to dislocate the time schedule of the parade.

Meantime, every raincoat in the city was bought up by the paraders. Bands were not released from their engagements. Two elephants had been secured, they were provided with rubber blankets! At three o'clock, the dripping suffragists made a rush for Grant Park where the filled-in land was a sea of mud. Mrs Catt, on her way to the Resolutions Committee hearing, came over to encourage them, lamenting that she had to go on ahead of them. "But," said she, "*This is our great chance! Make the most of it!*" and she drove off waving the plank. Then the national board arrived, having decided to stay with the parade instead of going ahead with the plank. The standards and flapping banners were borne to their stations. The marshals on horseback rode up and down shouting directions, the bands appeared holding their horns upside down, the elephants stood deep in the mud swinging their trunks sadly, three o'clock struck and the bugles sounded through the roar of wind and rain and surf along the lake shore. A platoon of mounted police in oilskins wheeled into the Avenue, tall Susan Ryerson strode after them with the American flag, Mrs Kellogg Fairbank, grand marshal of the parade, with her aides came next, then the national board, then the flag carried flat with a large blank document sewed in the middle of it in place of the plank which had been taken by Mrs Catt; then delegations from the suffrage states, some of them wearing delegates' badges to the Republican convention, then the great body of the column, state by state, behind their banners which were so buffeted by the wind that three women could scarcely hold them upright. Many of them marched without any protection from the storm, with the rain washing the yellow from their parade sashes in great splashes into the white of their dresses.

As the band music rose above the storm, people snatched umbrellas and ran toward the lake front shouting, "The suffrage parade is coming!" Windows, balconies and doorways were lined with onlookers. The curbs were lined with a crowd under umbrellas. "Twenty-four bands, a Highland piper and two fife and drum corps!" a stupefied man counted.

The firemen's parade scheduled for the same day had been called off and a *New York Times* correspondent began a vivid account of the demonstration thus

This was no day for men to be out in the cold. The firemen's parade was called off, but 10,000 women took part in the suffrage parade, marching for more than an hour in a heavy downpour and biting wind. In the hotel lobbies tonight, people are talking as much about the suffrage demonstration as about the candidates who should command their undivided attention. Politicians are calling it the pluckiest thing they ever knew women to do. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt was one of the women responsible for the parade despite the storm. Tremendous publicity has been gained. All the state delegations to the Republican convention had given up street demonstrations for their candidates.

The Pennsylvania women had brought along their replica of the Liberty Bell, and as they were escorting it, a woman stepped from the sidewalk and asked to join them. She was welcomed and asked her name. "Mrs. Gifford Pinchot," she replied. A little later a man stepped from the curb, saying, "This is the stuff we need more of! May I walk with you a block or two?" He was Arthur Brisbane.

There was something profoundly moving in the sight of the dragged thousands carrying their drenched banners behind their bands up to the Coliseum. Many a man turned away from it with a lump in his throat and shame in his heart. Meantime, Mrs. Catt and her speakers had reached the Coliseum and presented their appeal. Mrs. Catt ended her speech with the words

We make our request in the name of justice, but a great party may well consider the expedience of such a course, because the women of six states have gained the vote since the last presidential election, and these women voters have their party affiliations to make. But with party help or without it, we shall win. We believe that party to be farseeing which befriends the cause.

The antisuffragists had their hearing after the suffrage speakers, and the sleepy committee was listening to them when the faint sound of band music outside came to their ears. Just as the words "Women do not want the ballot" were falling from the lips of one of the anti's, the door swung open to the stirring strains of "Hail,

Hail, the Gang's All Here!" and the sodden thousands began to pour in. Mr. Lodge turned his head towards the sudden tumult, and a wintry smile flickered over his face. Outside, policemen were bawling, "Don't crowd, ladies! There are 10,000 seats inside! Take your time!" Band after band marched past the entrance playing state songs or, with a fine sense of fitness, "Down Went McGinty"—a ditty doubtless inspired by the appearance of the ladies just ahead of them. It was like a stage climax, as the paraders surged around the platform. Wave after wave they came in, as quietly as possible in their endeavor to hear what was being said. The anti-suffrage speaker's voice faltered, she closed her address and hastened with her companions away from a humiliating position. The paraders, meantime, glad to find shelter, listened to the speakers for the Congressional Union which had just changed its name to "The Woman's Party."

The Resolutions Committee went into executive session immediately after the hearing, and a bitter struggle over the suffrage plank began which lasted all night. Leading the fight against the plank were Senators Lodge and Crane of Massachusetts and Wadsworth of New York. In favor were Senators Madden of Illinois and Southerland of Utah, and, if by state action, Borah of Idaho. The Committee brought in its report next day. Mrs. Catt was sitting in the gallery opposite the platform. Suffragists filled every available space and some were seated as delegates on the floor of the convention. Senator Lodge looked smaller and whiter than usual as he made his way to the speaker's desk to read the platform. He read on and on until at the very end he came to the words, "The Republican party, reaffirming its faith in government of the people, by the people and for the people, favors the extension of the suffrage to women—" He got no further. A scream of exultation in the gallery pierced the air, followed by cries from all parts of the house, and the first spontaneous and prolonged cheering of the day rose in long waves. Mr. Lodge waited patiently. When he was able to make himself heard, he raised his voice and shouted, "*BUT we recognize the right of each state to settle this question for itself!*"

The cheers died Mrs Catt sat unmoved through the demonstration She had been apprized of the states rights rider to the plank and was deeply disappointed by it Nevertheless, few things in her life had given her purer pleasure than hearing Henry Cabot Lodge of all men forced to read a suffrage plank into the Republican platform' A crowd swarmed around her with congratulations and she was rushed out to the lobby where Senator Borah, advocate of the states rights qualification, was standing surrounded by news cameras She was placed opposite him, feeling none too pleased with him and the cameras began to click It is hard to say which of the two looked the worse battered, Mrs Catt having had little sleep and Mr Borah none at all the night before

Next day she started with her party for St Louis The entire national board assembled here for the Democratic convention and there were continuous board meetings in advance of the opening day They had good prospect of getting a Democratic plank, since the Republicans had adopted one, but there was certain to be stiff opposition from wet delegates and the conservative South

The Missouri suffragists had an able publicity director in Mrs Emily Newell Blair, and she and the St Louis women had devised a demonstration in striking contrast to the Chicago parade in the storm They called it "The Golden Lane" A line of women dressed in white with yellow sashes and parasols, spaced four feet apart, stood along the curb beside their state suffrage banners on both sides of the street, forming a lane through which the Democratic delegates must walk from the Jefferson Hotel to the Coliseum on the opening day of the convention Midway on the Lane was the St Louis Fine Arts Building and here a symbolic tableau was posed on the flight of steps leading to the entrance, the chief figure of which was the Goddess of Liberty, impersonated by Mrs David O'Neill of St Louis The clever idea of this demonstration was that the delegates had to walk for a considerable distance between a double line of attentive ladies, and it was apparent in the expression of the gentlemen that they were exhilarated or depressed according to their state of mind on the suffrage issue A few of the

delegates at the beginning of their progress tried to be funny but their efforts were promptly suppressed by their companions who were under no illusions as to the significance of the scene. Reviewing the Golden Lane, Mrs. Catt and the national board in decorated cars rode slowly up one side and back along the other side of the entire course, after which Mrs. Catt read from the steps of the Fine Arts Building the resolutions and plank which were to be presented to the Resolutions Committee of the convention.

That afternoon Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan, Dr. Shaw and Senator Shafroth of Colorado, addressed a mass meeting. In the evening a crowd assembled in the Plaza, and speakers addressed different sections of it from thirteen automobiles. A full moon was shining in the cloudless sky, and between the speeches there was band music. While the open air meeting was in progress, Mrs. Catt with three women delegates to the convention spoke at a hearing before the Resolutions Committee and presented the plank. She had submitted it in advance to President Wilson, and it was endorsed by him. It read:

Believing that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, we acknowledge the right of women to participate in government, and favor their enfranchisement.

The Woman's Party presented a Federal Amendment plank. While the national suffragists wholeheartedly supported the Federal Amendment, they knew that it did not stand the smallest chance in the Democratic convention, and accordingly they submitted a straight suffrage plank which omitted mention of either Federal or state action.

After presenting the plank, Mrs. Catt made a speech at the Town Club, then returned to her hotel and went to bed about midnight. Meanwhile Mrs. Roessing and Hannah Patterson took up their vigil outside the room where the Resolutions Committee was wrestling with the platform. Representatives of the Woman's Party also were present. Hour after hour they waited.

At last, the obscure murmurings on the other side of the door suddenly rose into angry clamor. The women in the hall looked

at their watches, it was 3 a.m. The Committee had reached the suffrage plank! Senator Stone of Missouri was an antisuffragist, but for the good of the party he was pledged to support a suffrage endorsement in the platform. The Woman's Party plank was promptly voted down, 40 to 4. There was a long conflict over the general endorsement asked by the national association, during which President Wilson was called on the long distance telephone and pressed into accepting a substitute plank endorsing suffrage by state referendum. Then the plank presented by Mrs. Catt was voted down 24 to 20 and the substitute plank adopted 25 to 20.

It was seven o'clock in the morning when the committee adjourned. Mrs. Roessing and Hannah Patterson hastened to the Warwick Hotel to Mrs. Catt's room. They were worn out and "mad all the way through" at the plank they brought, which read "We favor the extension of suffrage to women, state by state, on the same terms as to men." Mrs. Catt sat on the side of the bed in dressing-gown and slippers while Mrs. Roessing and Hannah Patterson proposed that the suffragists stage a demonstration of disapproval. Their leader shook her head decidedly. "I will never consent to that," she said. "We have got them to give us a plank, even if it is rotten. You girls go and get some sleep now, and forget it!"

The platform was presented to the convention that morning. When Senator Stone appeared with the document, he was waylaid by some Missouri suffragists who began to remonstrate with him. The old senator's tall, thin figure was stooped and his saturnine face sagged with weariness, one arm twitched as he walked along, pursued by his irate constituents. Finally he stopped and lifted the twitching arm defensively, an expression of exasperated humor lightened the sharp old features as he exclaimed, "Now hold your horses, girls! We got as good a plank for you as they would give us. No use shootin' the umpire, is they?"

The auditorium was filled to the doors, the galleries crowded with women who had brought along roll call lists of the delegates, for the purpose of recording each delegate's vote on the suffrage



plank for future reference. The day was sultry and everybody was waving a fan. Senator Stone announced in a husky voice that he had been up all night and was physically unable to read the long platform, and Senators Walsh of Montana and Hollis of New Hampshire were appointed to read in his place. Walsh read the first half without interruption and Hollis went on to the second. All was harmony till he came to the heading "*Woman Suffrage*."

Instantly pandemonium burst forth, cheers, whistles, catcalls, boos, cries of "Bevo!" (the prohibition near-beer just put out by Anheuser-Busch). When the tumult died down, Senator Hollis read the plank and announced a minority report against it, and Governor Ferguson of Texas went to the platform to present the minority report. Then began a scene which defies description. A group of Ohio brewers sitting almost under the speaker's desk, with other wet antisuffrage groups, notably the New Jersey and Texas delegations, cheered frantically the speech of the Governor (who later was impeached and jailed for corrupt practices in office)—a speech in which he elevated woman to the pedestal and quoted the Bible at her and besought the convention to preserve her for home and motherhood, and the country from her! (Subsequently he was only too glad to have his wife elected Governor of Texas.)

When he was through Senator Pittman rose to defend the plank. He, like the rest of the Resolutions Committee, had spent a sleepless night and his opening remarks about Ferguson's speech precipitated an extraordinary outburst. Suddenly, above the cheers of his supporters and the execrations of his opponents on the floor, the gallery stood up en masse, cheering, waving flags, unloosing a cloud of "Golden Lane" bunting over the balustrade, opening and twirling "Golden Lane" umbrellas in a great circle above the convention. The hall had been growing dark unnoticed by the excited assembly for some time past, and the burst of color in the gallery was dramatic, but not so dramatic as the blinding flash of lightning and heavy explosion of thunder that followed, with a steady drumming of rain on the roof. "Are you *men* that cheer every denunciation of women?" shouted Pittman above the tumult. A yell of approval

came down from the gallery John Sharp Williams, who was relieving Ollie James in the chair, pounded with the gavel and roared vitriolic words at the gallery and those delegates who were on their feet all over the convention, and then as a last resort he called on the band to play Pittman wiped his white face and waited When the uproar subsided, he resumed, only to be interrupted by cries of "Sit down!" "Question!" "We want to vote!"

"Yes," cried Pittman, shaking his fist, "you want to do anything but listen to the truth!" Laughter greeted this statement, for the call for the question had come from the equal suffrage states Pittman peered at their standards, smiled sheepishly and went to his seat As the roll call on the minority plank began, the noise of the rain on the roof died away, and the rustle of paper in the gallery as the women jotted down the vote of each delegation was distinctly heard Said the report of the scene in *The New York Times*

The sight of them had a most unnerving effect on the delegations It was like the French Convention of the revolution, gallery ruled, and the women with the rollcall blanks suggested the knitting women of the Reign of Terror

When it was announced that the minority plank was defeated, 888 to 181, cheers swept floor and gallery and, as if planned by a stage director, at that moment a burst of sunlight came through the glass roof and flooded the arena State after state in the Solid South voted unanimously with New York and Pennsylvania against the minority plank Senator Stone then moved the acceptance of the platform as presented by the Committee; it was passed unanimously, and the Democratic national convention adjourned

The press featured the Democratic plank as a great achievement of the suffrage forces, and the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* fell into poetry about it

Citizen and Democrat,  
Marching down the Golden Lane  
'Neath the eyes of Mrs Catt,  
Marching down the Golden Lane,

Marching out to nominate  
Wilson for their candidate—  
How the Democrats did hate  
Marching down the Golden Lane'  
But they couldn't get away  
From the 'Women's Votes' display  
They'll recall for many a day  
Marching down the Golden Lane'

The *New York Evening Post* said editorially

Woman suffrage has acquired an entirely new status      To have made  
the conquest over both Republican and Democrats in a single year is a signal  
achievement

But the suffrage leaders knew this "conquest" was a Pyrrhic victory—partial at best, at worst not far from defeat. For both parties had expressly ruled out conferring the vote by Federal amendment, and had prescribed the long, hard, and in some states impossible method of state referendum campaigns. As far as they could they had postponed woman suffrage indefinitely.

## *Atlantic City Emergency Convention, 1916*

Mrs Catt called a meeting of the national board of officers within half an hour after the close of the Democratic convention, and made two proposals first, to start an immediate drive on Congress to test the effect of the new planks, and, second, to call an emergency convention of the suffrage association at Atlantic City in early September. The proposals were adopted and the call to the convention was sent out immediately <sup>28</sup>

In a letter to Mrs Henry Wade Rogers, Mrs Catt said

The debate in the Democratic convention on the minority report made the board members furious, as it seemed to convey the idea of putting some words in the platform that would appease the women but would really mean nothing. We have had time to recover from our indignation, now, and probably will not see things quite so red as we did. I don't know what was in the mind of the other members of the board, but it never was my thought that we should fight either the Democratic party or President Wilson.

The convention headquarters in Atlantic City will be at the Marlborough-Blenheim. The proprietors are interested in our cause and will help financially to support the meeting. The wife of the owner or manager of the Chalfonte is president of the anti's, so we won't go there!

The preliminaries to the Atlantic City convention portended a shake-up in the suffrage association. She sent a questionnaire to the state presidents inquiring just what had been done in their states during the past six months, and what they were planning for the future. Along with it went a list of subjects which each state delegation was to come to Atlantic City prepared to discuss.

The Democrats in Congress paid no attention to the discontent of the suffragists, nor were the Republicans any more disturbed by it. Mrs Catt went to see Mr Hughes, Republican candidate for

<sup>28</sup> One of the choice paragraphs in the call to the Atlantic City convention was the statement that, if the United States had remained a British colony, its women would now be enfranchised as Canadian women were, and that *no taxation without representation* was now a British principle, and no longer an American one!

the Presidency, and obtained his promise to make a public statement in favor of the Federal amendment. Then she obtained an appointment to interview President Wilson. While on her way with Mrs. Roessing to see the President, she saw in the *New York Times* big headlines announcing that Mr. Hughes had endorsed the Federal amendment in a speech the day before. "A surprise and a sorrow to many of us," commented the *Times* sadly!

News of the Hughes endorsement reached the President's ear before the suffragists reached the White House. Believing that the only way to move Mr. Wilson was to convince him that a Federal amendment was necessary, Mrs. Catt had armed herself with verified reports of referenda in Michigan, Nebraska and Iowa, where fraud was proved and recount had been denied. In addition, she cited the provisions of those state constitutions which made amendment not only difficult but actually impossible. She enumerated the immense cost in time, effort and money of state campaigns. She pointed out that a Federal amendment must be ratified by three-fourths of the states, and therefore would not override states rights. She stated that the Hughes endorsement, going beyond the platform of his party, constituted a challenge to the President which he might wish to answer.

Mr. Wilson was impressed by the facts she marshalled. He liked argument based on constitutional evolution; like most southern gentlemen he had a chivalrous attitude toward women; as a politician he saw the force of Mrs. Catt's allusion to the Hughes endorsement. There was no mistaking the friendliness with which he complimented them on their rapid progress but he was non-committal on the amendment.

The Hughes pronouncement was a sensation. The *New York Times*, as has been seen, was grieved, the *New York World* stupefied, the *Chicago Herald* cynical, the *Springfield Republican* said that Wilson had voted for woman suffrage in 1915 while Hughes did not. The antisuffrage association said Hughes was like the man who married a woman to get rid of her! The plight of the anti's with all the Presidential candidates lined up for suffrage re-

minded Alice Stone Blackwell of the story about two old men in the days of slavery who were discussing the new minister. Said one, "He is a good preacher, but it does go against me that he is a damned Abolitionist!" "Well," said the other, "things have come to such a pass that you have to be either a damned Abolitionist or a damn fool!"

Mrs. Catt put in many weeks of work laying the foundation for the Atlantic City convention. Both Wilson and Hughes were invited to come and address the delegates. Mr. Hughes was unable because of previous appointments. President Wilson said he would come if he could. When Ida Husted Harper was writing the final volumes of the *History of Woman Suffrage*, Mrs. Catt sent her a statement of her motives in calling an "emergency convention."

The Shafroth proposal had been welcomed in the Southern States because of its states rights provision. Scattered throughout the national Association were women who preferred the Shafroth method. Others felt that the Woman's Party had so queered the situation that the Federal amendment was hopeless. There was danger that local initiative would bring on more state referendum campaigns, and that Congress would hide behind those states rights planks and shut us out from Congressional action forever.

To stem this tide carrying us away from Washington and early victory, I planned that convention. I wanted first to clear our own ranks and find out where we stood. Therefore, I called a long board and executive council meeting previous to the convention. The deliberations were necessarily secret. *I there outlined the plan we followed to the end* [of the Federal amendment campaign].

Summarized, the plan proposed to secure nation-wide suffrage by Federal amendment before 1920. As the first step, the legislatures of as many states as possible should be pledged to demand that Congress submit the amendment. Lastly, a detailed plan for the organized suffragists in each state, which fitted into the general scheme and formed an essential part of it, was entrusted to the responsible leader of that state. She went on.

I have the manuscript of my survey and recommendations. Such part as would not reveal the whole scheme was put to the convention. It included a million dollar fund, inclusive of state and national funds, for public effect.

When the convention closed, the association was securely on the Federal Amendment trolley, whereas no one knew where it was when we began!

After full debate of the propositions submitted by their leader, the convention adopted a resolution that *all forces be concentrated on the Federal Amendment in the last session of the 64th Congress, pledging the support of the state organizations, and authorizing the national board to take such direction of the work in the states as may be necessary to accomplish this end*

The last part of the resolution which specifically gave the national association powers that had been withheld up to this time by the states, was opposed vigorously by Laura Clay and Kate Gordon. Nevertheless, it carried overwhelmingly. When the vote was announced, Miss Gordon stood up in the Louisiana delegation, face white, eyes flashing, and asked a question which caused a dead silence throughout the convention. "And if a state association refuses to be bound by this resolution, refuses to support the Federal amendment, what will the national board do about it?"

Mrs. Catt stepped to the edge of the platform and replied with the disarming smile that had mollified so many disputes in the past, "The national board would deal very leniently with that state branch." Kate Gordon sat down slowly but there was no answering smile on her face. She said under her breath, "A well-oiled steam roller has ironed this convention flat!" Although no less opposed to the resolution, Laura Clay was not angry. When asked if she would vote in case the franchise were conferred on her by a Federal amendment instead of state referendum, she replied, "Yes, I reckon I'd vote no matter *how* the ballot came to me!" It would not have been wise to venture that question with Kate Gordon. No objection ever was registered by the Southerners to the Federal amendment during many years when they appeared at Congressional hearings with Miss Anthony and Mrs. Catt. It was only now when there was a prospect of getting it that their states rights traditions came to the surface. The break with women who had been faithful co-workers with her in former years on the national board and in state campaigns was keenly regretted by Mrs. Catt, but she did not hesitate to face it.

Her opening address at this convention, entitled "The Crisis," was highly characteristic. It was a call to mobilize for the final drive. She described the change war had made on the status of women.

The woman's hour has struck! Our movement is like Niagara, a vast volume of water tumbling over its ledge, but turning no wheel. Our machinery is set for the propaganda stage, not for the seizure of victory.

If we are to seize victory, there must be a change in mental attitude. THAT CHANGE MUST TAKE PLACE IN THIS HALL, HERE AND NOW!

Women, arise! Demand the vote! The character of a man is measured by his will. The same is true of a movement. Then, will to be free! DEMAND THE VOTE! WOMEN, ARISE!"

The words lifted the delegates out of their seats. The spark had reached the powder!

With the organization renewed, reoriented and roused to fighting pitch, the most significant incident of this memorable meeting was the arrival of President Wilson on Friday evening, September 8. The police force of Atlantic City assumed responsibility for his safety while in the city. The theater was emptied Friday afternoon and searched from top to bottom, and police and plain clothes men were placed on duty. Mr. Wilson's life was frequently threatened and no chances could be taken. Admission to the theater was by delegate's badge or official pass.

A regular program on "Why Women Need the Vote" had been scheduled for the evening, with Julia Lathrop, Owen Lovejoy, Mrs. Raymond Robins and Katherine Bement Davis as speakers. The President would choose when he would appear and for how long. In the afternoon a telephone call came from the White House for Mrs. Catt. Filled with foreboding of some hitch in the President's coming, she left the convention platform, but it was only a secretary who had been instructed to find out what Mrs. Wilson ought to wear that evening! She was accompanying the President and wished to be appropriately garbed! Mrs. Catt replied that whatever Mrs. Wilson chose to wear would be appropriate. When she returned to the platform, in reply to anxious inquirers, she told them



what the call was about, and confessed that she did not know what *was* proper platform dress. At conventions she had attended, platformers had varied in their dress all the way from the costume of Dr. Mary Walker to that of the Countess of Aberdeen!

The theater was filled when the Presidential party arrived. A guard of honor, composed of the presidents of the state suffrage associations carrying yellow banners, formed a double line between which the Presidential party walked to the platform.

As Mr. Wilson stepped upon the stage, the audience rose and wave after wave of applause greeted him. The President bowed repeatedly as his eyes traveled over the serried ranks of women in light summer dresses who crowded floor and galleries and kept up the ovation. A smile came over his face which gave him a suddenly youthful appearance. Mrs. Catt, who was watching him, said afterwards that she believed this to be the exact moment when Woodrow Wilson was converted to the Federal amendment! As the cheering kept on, he waved his hand and sat down. On his left sat Mrs. Wilson, who had decided to wear a thin white dress with flounces well up from the floor, for it was the day of short skirts. As the night was hot, she carried a fan and fanned the President assiduously all the time he was not speaking.

Mrs. Catt inquired when Mr. Wilson wished to speak, and he replied that he would stay through the evening and speak last, which was certainly a compliment to the convention. He listened attentively to the scheduled program and when it came time for him to speak, it was evident that he had prepared his speech carefully. He began by stating that the convention represented "one of the most astonishing tides in modern history." He reviewed the history of the United States as in the beginning chiefly concerned with legal questions, "a lawyers' history." With the rise of the slavery issue had appeared a question which under all its legal trappings was a humanitarian issue, and linked with it was the first appearance of women on the political stage. He traced the increasing prominence of sociological problems, and the subordination of legalistic to humanitarian interests since the Civil War, with

the corresponding growth of the feminist movement It was a thesis in Wilson's best manner leading up to a conclusion

When anybody asks himself What does this gathering force mean? if he knows anything about the history of the country he knows that it means something which has not only come to stay, but has come with conquering power I get a little impatient, sometimes, about the discussion of the channels and the methods by which it is to prevail

At this point the silence in the auditorium was absolute as the listeners hung upon his words He went on

Because America took its origin in visions of the human spirit, in aspirations for the deepest sort of liberty of mind and heart what we have to realize is that in dealing with forces of this sort we are dealing with the substance of life itself

I have felt as I sat here tonight the wholesome contagion of the occasion Almost every other time that I ever visited Atlantic City, I came to fight somebody! I hardly know how to conduct myself when I have not come to fight anybody, *but with somebody*

Applause burst like a clap of thunder and died as suddenly Mr Wilson was sensitive to intangible forces and he yielded to those which beat upon him from every side, but he did it like a statesman

We feel the tide, we rejoice in the strength of it, *and we shall not quarrel in the long run as to the method of it* Because, when you are working with masses of men and organized bodies of opinion, you have got to carry the organized body along The whole art and practice of government consist not in moving individuals, but in moving masses It is all very well to run ahead and beckon, but after all you have got to wait for them to follow I have not come to ask you to be patient, because you have been; but I have come to congratulate you that there has been a force behind you that will beyond any peradventure be triumphant, and for which you can a little while afford to wait

Applause followed the speech, but it was reflective He said he had come to fight *with* somebody and that in the long run they would not quarrel as to the method It sounded encouraging, but not definite But Mrs. Catt was convinced that he had been won over. He had not once mentioned state sovereignty in the

matter of the franchise, which up to this time he had always quoted. She realized that Mr. Hughes' endorsement was that of an individual only, and she surmised that the President was alluding to that in his phrase "It is all very well to run ahead and beckon." She now called on Dr. Anna Howard Shaw to respond to the President in closing the meeting, and she was praying earnestly that that fiery crusader would be tactful.

Fortunately, Dr. Shaw had been deeply stirred by the President's speech, and beginning with his last words, she referred to those long years of waiting. "We have waited long enough, Mr. President, for the vote," she said, and then, with one of those smiles which irradiated her moody face like sunlight, "*We have hoped it might come in your Administration*."

There was a rustle and stir all over the house. The audience was on its feet with solemn appeal in every face turned to the President. He too had risen and was making his farewells to Dr. Shaw, Mrs. Catt and the national officers. As they started to conduct the Presidential party from the platform with the same ceremony as in meeting them, the audience broke into applause which was unmistakably the release of tremendous emotion and which lasted some moments after the President had gone. There was a feeling in the air that this marked the turning point in their struggle, that forces hitherto neutral had suddenly aligned themselves with the friendly influences.

For the great body of delegates to the Atlantic City convention, the climactic events were Mrs. Catt's opening address and President Wilson's speech. But for the inner group of state presidents and officers of the national association, the great moment had come before the convention opened, when the executive council held its preliminary meeting in secret session. The story has been told by Maud Wood Park:

I shall always remember the crowded, stuffy room where the council met, the tired faces of the women, the map of the United States on the wall, most vividly of all, I remember Mrs. Catt's calm demeanor when the routine business was over, and she outlined the work that must be done.

To her preamble, a brief restatement of the reasons for seeking a Federal amendment, I listened with protest. At the Republican and Democratic national conventions the previous June, in spite of great efforts on the part of suffragists, the woman suffrage planks in both party platforms called only for action by separate states. I believed that we needed more than the eleven states in which women then had full suffrage, more than the ninety-one electoral votes which women had a share in choosing, before a drive for a Federal amendment would succeed.

But, as she listened to the second part of the plan, the future Congressional chairman's dissent faded into awe. To each state was allotted a tactical assignment in a nation-wide strategy. In the eleven states where women were fully enfranchised, and in Illinois where they had presidential suffrage, the suffragists were to get resolutions from the legislatures memorializing Congress to submit the Federal amendment. In certain other states, referendum campaigns were to be sought, in still other designated states, the women were to work for those measures of suffrage which could be granted by the legislatures, such as presidential suffrage, and, in Southern states, the vote in the primary.

Each state association was directed to launch its campaign at the opening of the legislative session. The concerted action throughout the nation would take the opposition off their guard, but to be effective it must be a surprise. The representatives of thirty-six state associations present at the council meeting signed a compact to carry out the full letter of their leader's instructions and to keep the plan secret until it revealed itself in action.

When the full number of signatures was affixed to the compact and we filed out of the room, [Mrs. Park continues] I felt much as Moses must have felt after he had been shown the Promised Land. Confronted with a choice between state and Federal campaigns, Mrs. Catt's answer, given with characteristic courage, had been "We'll do both."

In the three years that followed, the fruitfulness of the plan was revealed. Before our final vote in the Senate, June 4, 1919, twenty-four state legislatures had memorialized Congress in behalf of the submission of the suffrage amendment, four states enfranchised their women by state referendum, twelve states granted Presidential suffrage, two gave primary suffrage.

The number of Presidential electors for whom women might vote increased from 91 to 326

Remembering how hard it was to get our two-thirds majority in both branches of Congress, I have often speculated as to what would have happened if the winning plan had not been proposed on that afternoon in 1916. Undoubtedly a suffrage amendment would have been adopted at some time, even though Mrs Catt had never been born. But if success had not come when it did, the cause might have been caught in a period of post-war reaction, and victory might have been postponed for another half century. That women throughout the United States have been able to vote since 1920, we owe, I believe, to the loyal following by state suffrage workers of the comprehensive plan presented by our great leader

Finally, the Atlantic City convention had taken a momentous decision in vesting in the national board supreme power to direct the activities of the association. Within twenty minutes, \$818,000 was pledged toward a million dollar campaign fund for the following year. Four campaign directors and two hundred organizers in the field had been authorized, a national Press Bureau, a Speakers' Bureau, a Publicity Council, a Committee for Propaganda in Foreign Languages were set up and budgets made for them, state and national activities were correlated under national departments with the aim of focussing local influence on Congress immediately. Nor were the states rights Southerners forgotten. Their leaders were old comrades whom she loved and respected and Mrs Catt was too wise a chief to alienate sincere supporters because of differences over method. "Any state not desiring to work for the Federal amendment may remain a member of the national association, provided it does not work *against* the Federal amendment" was her wording of a resolution passed by the convention.

After it was all over, she wrote in a personal letter,<sup>25</sup> "I have put over the biggest week's work I ever did in all my life." Her estimate of the importance of the Atlantic City convention is not exaggerated. What she does not say, however, is more significant still. "The biggest week's work I ever did" was but the last week of two solid months of thought and preparation. If, as Kate

<sup>25</sup> C. C. Catt to M. G. Peck, September 9, 1916

Gordon said, the convention moved along like a well-oiled steam roller, it was because a road had been built capable of carrying its weight. There was nowhere else for it to roll. A new inspiration, a new urgency flowed from the Atlantic City convention into every part of the country.

The November election produced outward and visible signs of the coming political change. Jeannette Rankin, leader of the victorious suffrage campaign in Montana, was elected to Congress, the first woman so elected. It was acknowledged that the women's vote in the West had decided the presidential election. Even the *New York Times* conceded it, while William Allen White wrote, "The Wilson vote in Kansas was due to the women. Without them Kansas would have gone for Hughes." Owing to this, Democratic opposition to woman suffrage noticeably weakened. "You can't look a gift horse in the mouth," said a former antisuffrage Democratic Congressman when he came back to Washington promising to support the Federal amendment.

Early in December 1916, the national suffrage association opened imposing headquarters in the capital, leasing the house which was formerly used by the French Embassy, and later was the residence of former Secretary of State Elihu Root. It was a twenty-six-room house at 1626 Rhode Island Avenue, owned by Mrs. Hemmick, a great worker for peace and woman suffrage. Two members of the national board, Mrs. Walter McNab Miller of Missouri and Mrs. Thomas Jefferson Smith of Kentucky, were in residence, as also was Mrs. Catt when in Washington and other suffragists summoned thither in connection with the Federal amendment. Mrs. Catt was given a room with a sleeping porch, another room contained relics of Susan B. Anthony, and the remaining rooms were called "Root Rooms," not only because the suffragists had inherited the abode of their famous adversary, but because "Root for Suffrage" was the slogan of the place.

Having opened their impressive headquarters, the suffragists settled down to business. First, there were the state campaigns, the vitally important second New York referendum occupying chief

place, a drive for presidential suffrage was impending in six states, a legislative campaign for primary suffrage was on in Arkansas, Maine was having a referendum campaign. Second, there was the drive on Congress. There had been good spadework before entering on this vast program. The chief had gone over the ground with local leaders and politicians in every state selected.

As if the stars were favorable, the Court ordered \$500,000 of the Leslie estate paid to Mrs. Catt, early in 1917. During the two and a half years since Mrs. Leslie's death there had been incessant litigation and the relief to Mrs. Catt to get something from the estate to say nothing of the need for the money at this critical time, can hardly be overestimated. In anticipation, she had formed and incorporated "The Leslie Woman Suffrage Commission."<sup>26</sup>

At the same time the Court turned over the Leslie jewels to Mrs. Catt. They were delivered to her in a suitcase at her office, and, after calling in the officers present in the headquarters to behold the display, she poured the contents of the suitcase on her desk. One of the board members picked up a tiara and crowned Mrs. Catt with it!

The Leslie Commission held its first regular business meeting late in March in Mrs. Catt's office in the New York headquarters. It was a large room with a fine view over the city southward. A great flat-top desk was the most noticeable object in the room, the walls were decorated with old engravings and more recent photographs of suffrage leaders, the place of honor being occupied by a large portrait in oil of Miss Anthony.

<sup>26</sup> Consisting of herself as president, Harriet Taylor Upton, vice president, Alice Stone Blackwell, Mrs. Winston Churchill and Mrs. Raymond Robins. These incorporators elected four directors to serve with them: Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Percy Pennybacker, Mrs. Thomas B. Wells and Mrs. Arthur Livermore. Later, Mrs. F. Louis Slade and Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt were elected in place of retiring members. A bonded secretary and treasurer took care of the finances of the Commission.

"The entire top floor of the Burrell Building at 171 Madison Avenue, New York City, immediately over the floor occupied by the national suffrage headquarters, was taken for the various activities of the press department, the latter being now incorporated as the Leslie Bureau of Suffrage Education, with Miss Rose Young in charge. To round out the press set-up, the Leslie Commission bought *The Woman's Journal* from Alice Stone Blackwell and merged two other suffrage publications with it in a new weekly magazine, *The Woman Citizen*, which became the official organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association."

The great need now was for a much larger force of trained workers. Mrs. Catt conducted a conference of organizers in New York, and started a series of similar schools throughout the country. Mrs. Frank J. Shuler, corresponding secretary of the national association, was made chairman of organization. Associated with her were Mrs. Halsey Wilson, recording secretary of the national association, Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore of New York, and Mrs. T. T. Cotnam of Arkansas. The vivid personality of these women, their insatiability for work and their excellent teamwork resulted in a fine body of trained young workers by the time Congress was called in extra session. But Congress came to Washington to face a grimmer task than deliberating about amending the Federal Constitution.



## 5.

### *The War Years*

For two and a half years the Atlantic seaboard had been jarred by the thunder of European war when, in the winter of 1917, Germany gave notice of resuming submarine attacks on neutral commerce. Immediately thereafter the German Ambassador to the United States was handed his passports. It was plain that America was all but in the war when Mrs. Catt called a meeting of the officers and the executive council of the suffrage association in Washington, February 23 and 24, preliminary to a mass meeting on February 25.

For some time she had been considering with deep disquietude what action the suffragists should take in case of war. It went without saying that if the United States went to war, the great majority of suffragists would support the government. She determined therefore to get the national association to define its policy in advance and to see to it that the Federal amendment held first place in that policy. Furthermore, knowing that many leaders in the organization, including herself, were advocates of international disarmament, she believed that the kind of support which the association pledged in case of war should be such as they could conscientiously give. Steering between the pacifist Scylla and the militant Charybdis with her eye fixed on the Federal amendment, she drew up the agenda for the executive council meeting.

The meeting was a difficult one. The national officers and state presidents were women of strong personality and decided views.<sup>27</sup> At the close of the deliberations, however, the following resolution had been agreed upon:

*First*, that the association should support the Government in case of war (a) by establishing employment bureaus for women, (b) by training women

<sup>27</sup> Ten pages of the minutes of the discussions were missing from the copy consulted by the writer.

for agricultural work and elimination of waste, (c) by cooperation with the Red Cross, (d) by Americanization work among the foreign population,—and that the Government should be notified of this action at the Sunday mass meeting

*Second*, that the first objective of the association *should continue to be the submission of the Federal amendment, and that war activities should not interfere with the purpose of the organization, which was Votes for Women*

*Third*, that Mrs Catt, Mrs J Borden Harriman and Mrs Helen Gardner in the event of war should act for the association in communicating with the Government

Mr Baker, as Secretary of War, was invited to appear at the Sunday mass meeting to receive notification of the action of the suffrage association. Such was the difficulty of arriving at the precise wording of the resolutions that it was not settled upon till eleven o'clock, Sunday morning. When the mass meeting was under way, it was discovered that nobody had brought along a copy of the resolutions to give to Mr Baker, and there was frantic cudgelling of brains in the effort to write out a set from memory to present to him! It was suspected that he was not anxious to get them in any form. Like Woodrow Wilson, he hated war—also like William McKinley, Abraham Lincoln, George Washington and Benjamin Franklin. Apparently the first preliminary to our going to war is to have lovers of peace running the government!

The action of the association received nation-wide publicity. Mrs Catt felt relieved to have the suffrage policy determined before war hysteria gripped the country, and to have conciliated as far as could be hoped opposing views within the organization. She expected criticism and she did not have long to wait for it. Denunciations and congratulations poured in upon her. The Peace Party of New York dropped her name from the list of members, whereupon she sent in her resignation from the national society. It hurt her feelings to do this, for she had joined Jane Addams in issuing the call for the meeting in Washington, in January, 1915, at which the National Peace Party was organized. In this connection, it may be said that ten months later the Peace Party adopted a "Program During War Time" in which it was urged that "those

of opposed opinions be loyal to the highest that they know, and let each understand that the other may be equally patriotic "

Woodrow Wilson entered on his second term, March 4, 1917. Three weeks later, after a determined filibuster in the Senate, Congress passed the bill authorizing the arming of merchant ships against submarines. On the same day, Mrs. Catt was interviewed by Edward van Zile for the *New York Sun* as to her attitude towards approaching war.

She said American women were ready to aid the Government in preventing the industrial dislocation caused by the war in Europe, where workers flocked to highly paid jobs in the munitions factories, while normal industries closed down, and masses of women were thrown out of employment. She referred to the huge parade of unemployed women in London at a time when there was a shortage of men workers. She said there was need to prepare for the postwar problem of readjusting the balance of men and women workers upset by the withdrawal of millions of men for the army. She mentioned the call of an American munitions concern for a thousand women at less than men's wages and stated that the suffrage association had asked the American Federation of Labor to take the matter up with the Government. She said that the suffrage association had proposed that the national women's organizations adopt a program of finding work for families whose men were called to the army, increasing the country's food supply, cutting down waste and undertaking educational work among the foreign population. What was perhaps most significant of her state of mind was her remark that *women ought to have a voice in dictating peace terms*. She recalled that it was said at the Congress of Vienna at the close of the Napoleonic wars that widening the franchise for men would make for future peace, and she added that extending it to women would be the next experiment.

There is not a word in the interview about what we were going to war for. The war was upon us and she was concerned with what women could do in a tragic dilemma. She believed the best thing to do for peace was to get the vote for women.

On April 2, the Congress was called by the President in special session. To it came Jeannette Rankin, first woman elected to the House of Representatives. Her appearance in Washington was the occasion of great celebration by the suffragists. Mrs. Catt gave a breakfast at Suffrage House for her when she arrived at the Capitol, and rode with her at the head of a parade of gaily decorated automobiles to Capitol Hill. The galleries were filled with suffragists to see the new Representative take her seat. Mrs. Catt was seated with Mrs. Champ Clark, Helen Gardener and Miss Hay on the Speaker's Bench in the gallery. Aside from this, the opening of the special session was an occasion of deep solemnity, for the President came before it and read his fateful war message.

The suffrage amendment was to have been the first measure introduced, but of course the war resolution took precedence. The suffrage bill came second, and to Jeannette Rankin was given the honor of presenting it. She was given a great ovation when she took the floor. Then came the debate on war, and three days later when the vote was taken and Jeannette was one of the few who voted in the negative, she at once came into the limelight. The press reports featured her as weeping when she cast her vote, whereupon Representative Treadwell of Massachusetts said he did not remember Miss Rankin's weeping, but that he saw at least sixty Congressmen in tears!

The day Congress opened, Mrs. Catt despatched a letter to the suffrage state presidents in which she warned that there would be those who would urge dropping work for the vote in the belief that nothing could be accomplished in wartime. "On the contrary, we ought to make the most stupendous appeal to Congress yet made for the submission of the Federal amendment," she countered.

Again, on April 9, she issued an open letter, explaining the position of the national association in regard to the war. A dual train of thought runs through it. What is the duty of voteless citizens to their country in time of war? and What is their duty to their cause? "I am myself a pacifist now and forevermore. War

to my mind is a barbarism," she wrote. "But whether we approve or disapprove, war is here I am asked: What is the duty of suffragists?" She answered the question by placing the cause first and war work second. The President said we were fighting a war to save democracy. If so, we should secure the democracy at home for which we were fighting abroad. She carefully explained that no woman was being asked to violate her conscience, that the aims of the coordinated women's committee were designed to increase the food supply, the labor supply, alleviate destitution, combat profiteering, safeguard women and children from exploitation. Of course whatever was done to ease the home front aided the Government in prosecuting the war. Even the Friends and the conscientious objectors acknowledged that. It is impossible to live in a world at war without aiding one side or the other.

The Woman's Party took the opposite course by refusing any support to the Government, not from pacifist scruples but because the Democratic Party was not officially supporting the Federal amendment. They had been picketing the White House since January, and continued to do so throughout the war. Their ingenuity in displaying banners comparing Mr. Wilson with the Kaiser, when the Commissioners from the Allies appeared in Washington, in interrupting the President in his public addresses, and in burning his speeches and other public pronouncements, frequently resulted in street rows which landed them in jail. Democrats in Congress who had been faithful friends of the cause for years simply lacked words to express their disgust, while antisuffrage Republicans were highly pleased with their tactics.

Secretary Daniels, head of the Council for National Defense, had included in the Council a Women's Committee, composed of representatives of eleven leading women's organizations. Dr. Anna Howard Shaw was chairman and Mrs. Catt a member. At their first meeting, the women sent a message to Mr. Daniels asking him to receive a delegation who wished to wait upon him for instructions. The request was granted and the delegation went to the Secretary's office in the Navy Building. The interior of the huge

edifice in these first days of our entry into the war presented an awesome spectacle. It was filled with men in a violent hurry—civilians on edge for appointments, messenger boys rushing in and out, department clerks and men in uniform with perspiring and harassed faces. The day was sultry, the halls were reeking with tobacco smoke, and the discomfort and confusion were indescribable. The women had difficulty in getting through the crowd to the Secretary's offices and gaining admittance.

Mr Daniels was in his shirtsleeves in a room where several other men were at work. When he saw the ladies he made a dive for his coat, but they begged him to leave it off, saying that they were there to get information as to the best way they could help in the present emergency. The Secretary ran his hand through his hair which was already standing up seven ways for Sunday and exclaimed that he wished they would take the women of the country off his hands and for God's sake give them something to do! He was swamped with letters wanting to know how they could help, and he would be eternally grateful if the Women's Committee would answer those letters.

As Dr Shaw outlined the program laid out by the Women's Committee, and asked if it met with his approval, an expression of relief overspread Mr Daniels' face. It was almost identical with the program which the suffrage council had adopted in anticipation of America's going to war, the principal addition being the undertaking to raise funds for the Government. The Secretary instantly gave it his blessing and the delegation withdrew.

The Women's Committee, following the visit to Secretary Daniels, was given a Washington theater building for headquarters, which they utilized by fitting up the orchestra, boxes, dressing rooms and galleries for workrooms. Mrs Catt volunteered to go to Canada to see what women there were doing in cooperation with their government, and from Canada to go on out to the Pacific Coast.

Her western trip consumed the whole month of May. After speaking in Toronto, she spent three days in Columbus, Ohio, at-

tending the Mississippi Valley Suffrage Conference Here she devoted herself to convincing women that suffrage should be made their *first war measure*

Our nation [she declared] is engaged in the defense of democracy, the hearts of women would beat more happily if they could feel that our own Government had been true to the standard it proposes to unfurl upon an international field

We speak not so much for ourselves as in defense of our republic, in hope that it will resume its historic place as leader of democracy *We demand the suffrage by Federal amendment in the United States as a war measure!*

The pressure under which she worked doing double duty as suffrage leader and member of the National Defense Committee, is indicated by an extract from a letter written from Chicago on this tour

I have today met the Illinois Board and they voted unanimously to go after the [Federal amendment] program hard I have also made three speeches to different audiences today, had six press interviews, two conferences and got all the printed stuff off to New York

In Denver, Portland, Tacoma and Seattle she had immense meetings at which she spoke in behalf of the work of the Women's Committee of the Council of National Defense and urged support of the Federal amendment She frankly used the war psychology to further her cause, as did her associates Since we had become involved in a war to save democracy, these women felt justified in demanding that democracy begin at home

When she returned to New York early in June, her secretary commented in a letter

I gaze at her in amazement For one month she has traveled incessantly, made two speeches per day, and here she is seemingly without a scratch She may go to Maine for a hurried trip and must be in Washington, July 10, for the Second Liberty Loan meeting She looks well

June 1917, marked the initial appearance of *The Woman Citizen* magazine, which was the historic *Woman's Journal* in new form As soon as the Leslie money was available, Mrs Catt had

negotiated with Alice Stone Blackwell to sell the *Journal* to the Leslie Commission and stay on the editorial staff. Miss Blackwell consented, Rose Young was made editor of the newly acquired magazine, Mrs. Catt and Miss Blackwell contributing editors.<sup>28</sup> Mrs. Catt wrote an editorial in the first issue in which she paid tribute to Alice Stone Blackwell and the forty-seven-year record of *The Woman's Journal* under the management of the Blackwell family. "There can be no overestimating the value of *The Woman's Journal* to the suffrage cause. It has been a history maker and a history recorder," she said.

By the time Mrs. Catt returned from her western trip, a great change in the temper of the country was apparent, and the sagacity of her move in determining the policy of the suffragists before the country was at war was realized by her confederates. President Wilson's war messages had just the right degree of "Holy War" exaltation to act like yeast on the citizenry. The country was mobilizing against wicked kings to save democracy, "Dollar a Year" men and "Minute Men" and Liberty Loan speakers besought patriots to "give till it hurts", service flags appeared in the churches; there were to be no pensions for our heroes, no annexations or indemnities, and this was a war to end war forever. H. G. Wells called Wilson's statement of war aims the greatest contribution to world understanding of the allied cause—the Americanization of the war. It certainly was the latter!

Mrs. Catt's speeches and editorials took on the prevailing tone, although she used the war chiefly as an argument for enfranchising women. As long as her followers did not relax their efforts to push the Federal amendment, she took pride in their remarkable success as farmers and factory workers, and their ability to take over men's jobs in almost every field. The antisuffragists incessantly accused her of being unpatriotic and she had to take criticism from

<sup>28</sup> For four years *The Woman Citizen* appeared as a weekly, then after ratification of the Federal amendment it became a monthly magazine, with Virginia Roderick as editor. Ten years later, it resumed its original name, *The Woman's Journal*, and finally as a result of the depression of the early thirties, it was discontinued to the regret of all who realized its unique place among women's magazines.



her own co-workers The state executive committee of the Pennsylvania suffrage association passed a resolution stating:

The recommendation in Mrs Catt's letter of May 18 that our Federal amendment work shall take precedence over war work is in direct contradiction to the patriotic and farsighted action of the National Executive Council and consequently is prejudicial to the best interests of the suffrage movement

To which she replied

Suffragists are quite capable of speeding up and conducting the proposed campaign, and also of doing all the war service that is likely to come their way They are also quite capable of sitting down to take a rest upon very slight provocation This is the time for speeding, not resting

There were able women on the suffrage war work committees, one of the ablest being Mrs Henry Wade Rogers, chairman of the Committee on Agriculture Mrs Rogers owned a farm and was indefatigable in recruiting women for farm work One day Herbert Hoover issued a manifesto on the subject of women's wastefulness, which among other things exhorted them to peel potatoes thinner than they were doing! Mrs Rogers was one of the most amiable of women, but to the amusement of her friends she came back at Mr Hoover with a blistering countercharge She exhorted him to turn his gaze away from the kitchen garbage pail to the food rotting on the ground and in the railroad terminals Dr Shaw, head of the Women's Committee of the National Defense Council, remarked apropos of Mr Hoover's attempt to get the potatoes peeled thinner, "Women are much more economical than men, and they are getting tired of being scolded by everyone in regard to saving"

Meantime, women took to Hoover uniforms and overalls and fed their families on "substitutes" *The Woman Citizen* was filled with recipes for meatless and wheatless and butterless meals, and instructions for knitting socks and sweaters. Skirts grew shorter to save cloth, women became subway guards and street car drivers, window washers and freight handlers and went into every heavy industry by the thousand, drove tractors and trucks and became expert mechanicians.

But these developments paled in comparison with what was happening in Russia. News came of the women's Battalion of Death, which had gone to the eastern front to stop the desertion of the Russian soldiers, of the recall from Siberia of Catherine Breshkovsky by the Kerensky government and the place in the revolutionary administration given to Dr Yavein, head of the Russian suffrage association.

Elihu Root about this time went to Russia with an American Commission to try to keep Russia in the war, and in support of the Kerensky regime made a "ringing speech" in praise of the American "universal, equal, direct and secret suffrage." In an ironic comment in *The Woman Citizen* on the speech, Mrs Catt questioned the "universality" of a suffrage which excluded half the people, but said she was an optimist, and, in view of what had happened to Mr Asquith, she had hopes that, converted by Russia to true democracy, Mr Root might come back home to "fight with us"!

The suffragists had a strong Congressional Committee in Washington, of which Mrs Maud Wood Park of Massachusetts was now chairman. Mrs Park was young but not too young, a graduate of Radcliffe College, slight and blond and goodlooking enough to give the helpful illusion of needing assistance. She had a fine New England accent and a courteous dignity which ameliorated Congressional manners perceptibly when she interviewed hostile gentlemen. She had had plenty of experience as social worker and suffrage organizer in Boston, and had founded the College Equal Suffrage League, of which M Carey Thomas, president of Bryn Mawr College, was chairman. Mrs Park believed that honesty is the best policy and was soon known about the Capitol as a scrupulous keeper of her word. During the four years while she was in daily evidence on Capitol Hill, friend and foe alike talked freely to her knowing that she would not betray their confidence. She was cautious in making decisions, but once made they stood. Her respect and affection for Mrs Catt and reliance on the latter's experience and judgment were unshakable, while Mrs Catt had complete confidence that Mrs Park was doing all that was humanly possible, whether

things went well or ill for them in Congress. During the 1917 summer, Congress adopted a rule to consider none but war measures. The suffragists took the occasion to press for creation of a Suffrage Committee in the House. Finally, the House voted to set up the suffrage committee at the coming regular session of Congress, an action which would take the amendment away from the control of the hostile Judiciary Committee which had served as a willing morgue for it. Meantime, the vote of states rights Southerners in both House and Senate in favor of the Federal Prohibition Amendment had cleared the way for suffragists to announce that they would expect the same treatment for their measure, when it could be introduced.

After a two weeks' retreat with Miss Hay to the mountain stillness and coolness at Lake Mohonk, Mrs. Catt went to Indiana to confer about the attack on the constitutionality of the suffrage bill which had been passed by the legislature there, then went to Maine for the last week of the suffrage campaign, which ended in defeat for the women, September 10. She had promised to give the month of October to the New York campaign which was entering upon its last stage. The war had cut across the picturesque propaganda activities which had enlivened the 1915 campaign. The one statewide effort in 1917 was the suffrage house-to-house canvass and enrollment which went on all summer. This canvass was the wisest project that could have been undertaken. It demanded service from every worker, did not offend sensitive patriots as more spectacular efforts would have done, and reached into individual homes as meetings never could.

While she was speaking upstate, Mrs. Catt received a statement from the President expressing deep interest in the New York campaign and saying that the activities of the pickets in Washington should not influence voters against the suffrage cause. "I am most anxious," he said in conclusion, "that the great State of New York should set a good example in this matter." Again, a few days later, in reply to a delegation of women, he sent another message, his third since August, to the New York electorate.

Shortly before election, Tammany called a meeting to decide what to do about the suffrage amendment in New York City. Wives of several of the members present were officers in the New York City Woman Suffrage Party, and these men knew the strength of Mary Garrett Hay's organization. They argued that Tammany had fought the women long enough, and with considerable grumbling the majority voted, "Hands off the suffrage amendment." Word was immediately carried to Miss Hay, who passed the glad tidings around to the city workers. On the other hand, the Republican Party in the state was divided, Senator Wadsworth, upstate boss, being bitterly hostile to the amendment while Governor Whitman was in favor. October 27 was the date of a huge pre-election suffrage parade in New York. Again, as in 1915, Mrs. Catt led the column, accompanied by the national and state officers. Two great streamer signs carried the President's recent pronouncements in favor of the amendment, following them came 2,500 upstate women carrying standards on which were enumerated the signatures of half a million women of the upstate counties to the suffrage petition; after them came Mary Garrett Hay with her cohorts, a woman from each of the Assembly Districts in Greater New York displaying the number of signatures of women in her district, the grand total of signatures being 30,000 more than the million originally asked for and constituting a majority of the women of the state.

There had been many war parades during the summer and fall; only two days before, a huge Liberty Loan parade had marched up the avenue. But twenty thousand women with five thousand standard-bearers representing a million New York petitioners was still something to call out a crowd, and as the Overseas Hospital Unit, equipped by suffragists, passed, followed by farmerettes in overalls, by women taking the place of men in many other occupations, by a division of mothers of enlisted men, by doctors and Red Cross nurses for overseas service, the men on the sidewalks were visibly moved. It was not half as long as the mammoth parade of 1915; it did not have to be. Women had taken on a value which nothing but war

seems to confer on human beings in the eyes of men. And the war was not going well, the Italians were in full retreat, Kerensky's government was crumbling in Russia; the western front was a stalemate, submarines like sharks were preying on world commerce while starvation and pestilence were finishing what the guns began. The hurry and congestion and anxiety on this side of the Atlantic were appalling, when November 6, Election Day, dawned. That night when the polls closed, women had won the most brilliant single victory of their long struggle. New York State had given votes to women. Amid the gloom and confusion of that dreadful time, perhaps more intense because of them, a paean of jubilation went up from one end of the country to the other. For there was no mistaking the significance of the event.

There was a mass meeting in Cooper Union the night after election, which taxed hundreds of policemen to keep thousands of people from storming their way into a building already jammed to suffocation. Inside the hall, the ecstatic multitude responded like a camp meeting to the speeches. Mrs. Catt was presiding and when she stepped to the front of the stage in a royal blue gown and began "Fellow Citizens," it was a good while before she got any further. She spoke of the magnitude of the forces built up during the four years of the state campaign and urged that that magnificent force be turned without pause to the support of the Federal amendment. Mrs. Raymond Brown, head of the state Woman Suffrage Party, with beaming face told how the leader of the anti's said, just before election, that the petition which had been carried in the New York suffrage parade must be a fake, "because if one million women ever wanted anything they would get it!" Turning to Mrs. Catt, she continued.

With New York won, the Federal amendment is as good as won, and I present to you, Madam Chairman, this organization to work for the Federal amendment. We shall not disband till we have won suffrage for the women of the whole nation.

Cries from people in the audience who lived in states where suffrage had been defeated greeted this statement: "Pennsylvania

thanks you!"—"New Jersey!"—"Maine!"—while a bitter voice in the gallery shouted, "Save Ohio!" The last created a demonstration, for the same election which gave the vote to women in New York had taken away presidential suffrage from Ohio women

Mary Garrett Hay, who as chairman of the New York City Woman Suffrage Party had delivered the splendid city majority which wiped out the slight upstate deficit of 1,500 votes and left the amendment 102,000 to the good, was heroine of the night. *The New York Times* in an editorial following the meeting lamented the whole business

On to Washington! is the cry of the National Suffrage Association. Mrs Catt is to head the campaign for the Federal Suffrage Amendment. In the second week of December, in that crowded city—a multitudinous nexus of the gravest responsibilities which the Government has ever had to bear, the suffrage convention will be held for the purpose of bulldozing Congress to pass the Federal Amendment at once. There will be some thousand delegates. They will be there to interfere with the vital work of the nation. It is but a more dangerous form of picketing which these sorely misguided women are about to undertake. Power brings to them no sense of responsibility. They win this state only to browbeat Congress and to seek to impose suffrage on unwilling states. [And so on.]

During the last weeks of the New York campaign, a series of attacks on Mrs Catt's loyalty by the anti's and other reactionary groups drew from her a threat to bring suit for libel unless they were retracted. As a result of her threat to sue, Everett P. Wheeler of the men's antisuffrage society withdrew an offensive publication, and the anti's toned down their diatribes.

The weeks following the New York victory were spent by Mrs Catt alternately in New York and Washington. When in the latter city, she stayed in Suffrage House where the crowd and congestion were perpetual and everything small and great was carried to her for final decision. In New York, she spent her days in the headquarters, eating a sandwich at noon and getting neither physical exercise nor mental respite. Her fellow officers were in a continual state of exasperation with people who came to see her and overstayed their time. It was understood that after she had been closeted with a

visitor for a reasonable time, one of them should go in and fish out the caller, for Mrs Catt herself was simply incapable of easing any suffragist to the door. Only when sounds of laughter were heard within was the caller permitted to linger.

The great cause of worry to the suffragists at the moment was the effort of the liquor interests and their confederates to nullify every legislative extension of the vote by challenging it in the courts. That year due to the suffrage strategy, presidential suffrage was granted by the legislatures of Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, North Dakota, Nebraska, Rhode Island, and municipal suffrage in Vermont. Immediately the wets circulated a petition for a recall referendum in Ohio, which was challenged as fraudulent by the Ohio suffragists. The women were able to secure a hearing in only four counties, but in those four 8,661 out of 9,964 signatures were thrown out as fraudulent! The referendum was held and the wets carried the election and reversed the action of the legislature. In the other states also, the legislative extension of presidential suffrage was being challenged in the courts.

Mrs Catt knew the financial resources and the implacable hostility of the opponents of woman suffrage, and the uncertainty as to whether the vote was to come nationally by Federal amendment or inch by inch via the state courts was ever present in her mind. She was harrassed by the political situation. She reproached the chairman of the Republican National Committee because his party had knifed the suffrage amendment in Maine and tried to do it in New York, and told him that if they held up the Federal amendment in Congress the suffragists would campaign against them in the next election.

She felt that she had too many irons in the fire. In a letter to Maud Wood Park who was in charge of Congressional work in Washington she wrote

I have been trying to write an address for the national [suffrage] convention. It is slow work for me to write anything. It is so difficult to make my duties join together, there are so many of them! I told Mrs Martin I would go to California for the Council of Defense meeting in January. I want to get out there to organize something to be an auxiliary [to the Fed-

eral amendment campaign] I thought I might go to Utah for a meeting at the same time and thus start something behind King Now what do you say to my going out West for meetings in Oklahoma, New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, Nevada, Utah? I could scarcely do that in less than three weeks

Do you think I could be spared in January as well as any time? I have been thinking I would do that work in January for the Women's Committee [of the Council of National Defense], and then resign about the first of February so as no longer to have my conscience charge me with the attempt to serve two masters I know I ought to be in Washington, and that you will say that, but you must think about the other obligation, too

The western trip did not materialize as her presence was required in Washington when the Federal amendment came before Congress in January, 1918

To initiate the drive on Congress, the convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association was called in Washington in mid-December, 1917 Six hundred delegates assembled under great difficulty It was the coldest December on record, the railroads had broken down under the war load, trains from the Far West were thirty-six hours late, some of the delegates from the South were caught in two bad wrecks In the capital as everywhere else there was a coal shortage, while the influx of war workers had utterly swamped the housing capacity of the city The delegates had to take lodgings where they could get them and few were warm enough, while food was about as scanty as coal The national officers were crowded in at Suffrage House which was already full to the roof

Nevertheless, there was an air of eager optimism about the opening of the convention A national advisory suffrage council had been formed which included all the members of Wilson's Cabinet except Secretary of State Lansing, with many notables throughout the country as members The wives of these Cabinet officers gave a reception for the officers and convention delegates to which everybody of importance in Washington came On the opening day of the convention the House of Representatives set up the promised Committee on Woman Suffrage, corresponding to a similar committee in the Senate.



Poli's Theater was jammed on the night of Mrs Catt's presidential address which this year took an unusual form and was not addressed to the delegates but to Congress. It was a complete brief of the case for Federal action, showing the changed status of the cause brought about by the New York victory and the grant of presidential suffrage in many states. It pointed out that "male voters never have been named by any constitution or statute as the representatives of women," that Congress and the legislatures were the nearest approach to representatives of voteless women since they were determined on the basis of population. On Congress, therefore, she placed the responsibility for obstructing the establishment of a democracy at home which they were preaching and fighting for abroad.

It has been the aim of both dominant political parties to postpone woman suffrage as long as possible. Many of us have a deep and abiding distrust of all political parties, they have tricked us so often that our doubts are natural. We also know that your parties have a distrust of new women voters. Woman suffrage is inevitable—you know it. The political parties will go on—we know it. Shall we, then, be enemies or friends? There is one thing mightier than kings or armies, congresses or political parties—the power of an idea when its time has come to move. The idea will not perish, the party which opposes it may.

The scarcely veiled threat in these words was hailed by the delegates with immense applause and by some Congressmen scattered through the audience with thoughtful looks. The latter knew that the suffrage leader had considered her words before she had them printed for distribution at the Capitol, and the demonstration of organization in the four-year New York campaign, backed up by the organized pressure beginning to be felt in support of the suffrage lobby in Washington were enough to give the dullest opponent pause. They knew that money could not buy the kind of service freely given by women to their cause, and that this service was being intelligently directed and financed.

To show that the suffragists stood back of their leader, the convention ruled that, if the Sixty-fifth Congress failed to submit the suffrage amendment, they would go into the next Congressional

campaign to elect favorable candidates and defeat hostile ones. Eight directors were added to the national board to take care of the increasing activity. Owing to the demands of war loans, the suffragists had raised only \$804,000 of the million set by Mrs. Catt as the year's goal, but even that much was an achievement. Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers alluded in her treasurer's report to her correspondence with certain state associations which had decided that they could not meet their pledges because of war obligations. "In the late summer, the tide seemed to turn," she said. There were sheepish grins among the would-be delinquent state delegations as they recalled Mrs. Rogers' late summer ultimatum which scorched their fingers as they took it from the postman.

*The Drive on Congress*

The Sixty-fifth Congress convened on January 2, 1918. On the following day, Judge Raker, chairman of the new Committee on Woman Suffrage of the House of Representatives, announced that he was prepared to give all the hearings asked for by the supporters and opponents of the suffrage amendment. The result was that for the first three days of the committee's career, it was enlightened by the best minds on both sides of the question.

Maud Wood Park introduced the speakers at the first day's hearing. It was held in the caucus room on the third floor of the House Office Building, and the liveliest part of the proceedings was provided by Mrs. Catt. Having presented Congress with her constitutional argument as delivered at the suffrage convention, she felt free to discuss the question informally with the committee and had her first innings with Congressman Webb of South Carolina, who brought up the states rights argument. She had provided herself with a speech by Webb in favor of the prohibition amendment, and proceeded to read some passages of it to him, simply substituting the words "woman suffrage" for "prohibition." This embarrassed Mr. Webb and gave much amusement to everybody else.

Congressman Clark of Florida wanted to refer the question to a referendum of the women of the country. She replied that the procedure was unconstitutional, had never been asked of men, and was pointless. Mr. Clark then asked what women could get with the ballot that they were not getting without it. She countered by asking him: "Do you value your vote because of something you are getting for it, or is it a weapon in your hand all the time?" Clark retorted, "What do women need to be protected against?" and she replied instantly, "Men!" This was a slash at Senator Wadsworth who was supporting a bill to set aside restrictions on the hours of

women workers on army uniforms As soon as he could be heard, Congressman Clark, red in the face, said he was shocked and did not wish to ask any more questions<sup>1</sup>

She then took up a pamphlet which had been distributed by the anti's in Congress that morning, which quoted the President as opposed to the Federal Amendment and commented

The date of that statement by Mr Wilson is 1914 Since 1914, the world has changed Mr Asquith has been converted<sup>1</sup> I have myself had three interviews with the President, and upon those occasions I and those with me presented the reasons why we did not propose to continue to get the vote by state means In every instance I believe we made an impression on Mr Wilson and that his attitude was changed I ask you, Mr Chairman, to have a conference with the President and to say to him, "Mr President, are you or are you not for the suffrage Federal Amendment?" If he says he is for it, then ask him how far he can help If he says he is against it, then let me remind you it is not his function, anyhow, to pass the legislation<sup>1</sup> [Laughter and applause]

This challenge created a stir, as it never would have been made without the assurance that the President would return a favorable reply

The House committee hearings went on for four days with un-failing heat and more or less light Judge Raker and all but three members of the committee were supporters of the amendment and took part freely in the discussions The day the Woman's Party came before the Committee, these gentlemen were torn between ardor for the enfranchisement of women and exasperation at the particular advocates who confronted them The fifth and final hearing was a free-for-all in which both sides said their last words to the committee. Ex-Senator Bailey of Texas and Mrs. Catt were selected for an oratorical duel by their respective cohorts Mr Bailey was introduced as a "constitutional lawyer," and among the constitutional arguments he put forth was the statement that women were incapable of the three principal duties of citizenship—military, jury, and sheriff service. Judge Raker interrupted him to say that they

were performing all three in many places in this country and abroad!  
Whereupon Mr Bailey, *ore rotundo*

A woman who is able to perform sheriff's duty is not fit to be a mother, because no woman who bears arms ought to bear children As for jury service, women are wholly unfit for it That modesty for which we reverence woman would disappear from among them I dread the effects of this woman movement on civilization for I know what happened to the Roman Republic when women attained full rights If it were a question between their smoking and their voting, I would say if they would stay at home and smoke, let them smoke! Gentlemen, do you want to add to the electorate ignorance rather than intelligence, darkness rather than light?

After he was through, Maud Wood Park introduced Mrs Catt. Whether she was angry or only bored, Mrs Catt's remarks were far from gentle She adorned every other sentence with the elaborate epithet, "The Gentleman from Texas," in a way reminiscent of "John P Robinson, he" "I know I disappoint the gentleman," she began, "being the thing he so greatly deplores, a woman voter, but I would rather have my vote than the reverence of 'the Gentleman from Texas'" She enumerated the petitions sent to Congress from various cities of Texas, headed by the names of over a thousand prominent citizens, and asked him bluntly what he could put in evidence, beside himself, to offset them Altogether, she treated him so bitterly that he got up and left the room A few weeks later, Texas gave primary suffrage to women, and when Mr Bailey tried to get nominated for governor, he was snowed under

The day after the final hearing, the committee brought in a favorable report on the suffrage amendment, and January 10 was set for the vote in the House of Representatives Each night there were conferences with Mrs Park and her congressional committee It was necessary to get a two-thirds majority and the suffragists were two votes short Mrs Ben Hooper of Wisconsin relates that after one of the meetings Mrs. Catt took her aside and said that she depended on her to get those two votes! Mrs. Hooper gasped, replied that she would do her best, and took the midnight train for Wisconsin It was in the dead of winter and trains were running behind schedule On the way she pondered what political influence she

could bring to bear. A few days later she was back in Washington with her two votes!

On January 9, the day before the vote in the House, in accordance with Mrs. Catt's suggestion, Judge Raker and his committee went to see President Wilson. It was the suffrage leader's fifty-ninth birthday and never was an anniversary celebrated with greater enthusiasm than this was when she was called to the telephone and heard the statement, written by the President himself for the committee:

The Woman Suffrage Committee found that the President had not felt at liberty to volunteer advice in this important matter, but when we sought his advice, he very frankly and earnestly advised us to vote for the amendment as an act of right and justice to the women of the country and the world.

The House convened at noon, January 10, with galleries crowded. Mrs. Catt and Dr. Shaw were guests of the Speaker, Hon. Champ Clark, at luncheon that day along with Billy Sunday. Jeannette Rankin opened the debate which was scheduled to close at 5 p. m. It was imperative, if the result were to be favorable that every suffrage vote be cast. Republican floor leader Mann of Illinois and Representatives Sims of Tennessee and Crosser of Ohio came from hospitals to vote for the amendment, while Barnhart of Indiana had to be carried into the chamber on a stretcher! Representative Jones of Washington made a dash from the Pacific Coast and arrived at the Capitol barely in time to answer to his name on the roll call. Representative Hicks of New York came from the deathbed of his wife, who was an ardent suffragist, and after casting his vote returned home to her funeral.

As five o'clock put an end to the debate and the clerk began the roll call, cheers greeted the appearance of Mr. Barnhart on his stretcher. His was the one remaining suffrage vote to be accounted for. Nevertheless the watchers in the gallery knew that if a single vote was changed from affirmative to negative during the roll call, the amendment was lost. They had been provided with tally sheets and checked each vote as it was cast. When the clerk announced the result, a wild outburst of cheers in the gallery was checked by a

motion to repeat the roll call. The vote as announced was 274 in favor, 136 against.

Once more the clerk went down the roster, but the result was the same. The amendment had carried by a *fraction of one vote* over the required two-thirds majority.<sup>1</sup> The exultant suffragists rushed out into the corridor and milled around Dr. Shaw, Mrs. Catt, Maud Wood Park and her lobby committee, pouring out congratulations. Suddenly somewhere down the hall a different sound arose and spread until it swallowed up the confused babel of voices in an organized grandeur, somebody had started to sing "Old Hundred."

By a coincidence, the British Parliament took the final vote in the House of Lords which conferred suffrage on the women of Great Britain and Ireland the same day that the vote was taken in the American House of Representatives, so that Mrs. Fawcett and Mrs. Catt exchanged congratulatory cables.

The President's coming out for the amendment was the sensation of the hour, and Mrs. Catt lost no time in thanking him. With Dr. Shaw, Mrs. Park and Mrs. Gardener, she called at the White House, then went to see Speaker Clark, Minority Leader Mann, Representative Sims of the broken shoulder and Representative Barnhart, knight of the stretcher. The press featured the House victory, giving it precedence over war news and playing up Mrs. Catt's prediction that "the women of America will be voters in 1920, the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Susan B. Anthony." Underneath the confident surface, however, the suffragists knew well enough that the real battle would be fought in the Senate, where they were two votes short of the constitutional majority.

Meantime, the national situation grew increasingly difficult. The week after the House vote, Fuel Administrator Garfield closed all manufacturing establishments east of the Mississippi River for five days, and for ten successive Mondays thereafter. This blow to business was followed by a breakdown in transportation. Trucks were requisitioned to haul freight and convey soldiers to the Atlantic Coast, with the result that when the spring thaws came, roads not built for such loads became well nigh impassable. Congress started

an inquiry into the delay in getting our soldiers to Europe, while an epidemic of pneumonia carried off an appalling number of young men in the training camps! Liberty Loan drives followed one another in quick succession. In short, war had taken control of the whole nation. To keep votes for women a vital issue in the public mind in such a time as this could be done only by relating it to the war. Mrs. Catt gave up her idea of resigning from the Committee of National Defense. When she was not traveling, she lived—or existed—at Suffrage House in Washington. Finally she came down with influenza and was confined to her room.

An anecdote told by Mrs. Park illustrates the strain under which they were living. One day Senator Walsh of Montana, an old suffrage friend dating from the days of Susan B. Anthony, came to Suffrage House to talk with Mrs. Catt about the vote in the Senate. He was just getting over the flu and was too weak to mount the stairs to Mrs. Catt's room, while she was too ill to come down to him. The conversation was highly confidential and Mrs. Park had to act as intermediary, going up and down stairs with the speed of a snail for she was as ill herself as they were!

Early in February, the suffrage leader ran away from Washington to New York for a little respite. She had barely reached the city when an urgent letter from Ruth White, national executive secretary, begged her to return.

If we are going to get the vote [in the Senate] the last of this month, both Mrs. Park and I feel that you should be here and finish up the list of men you were going to see personally. Your visits count for ten times as much as calls from the rest of us. When you run away, things slump. Please let the New York people take care of themselves, and come back to us! Mrs. Park and Mrs. Gardener have gone to the White House this morning to learn whether anything is being started from there.

From New York Mrs. Catt wrote Mrs. Park, urging her to press for an early vote in the Senate.

It is clear from this morning's papers that Congress is not friendly to the President. . . . Miss Hay is sure his influence is going to grow less and less, and if he has any, he can wield it as well now as at any time. On the supposition we will not get any more votes, but that we may get some Senators to stay away, how about a definite date around the 20th [February]?



Her tactics of focussing nation-wide pressure on the Senate were in full swing. Leading newspapers throughout the country published editorials urging the Senate to act. Telegrams from the governors and resolutions from the legislatures of the suffrage states importuned their Senators. The President aided the women by letter and personal interview, but the senatorial minority—they had two votes more than one-third of the membership—resisted every onslaught. Wadsworth of New York although urged by the National and State Republican Committees, and by the New York Legislature, bluntly declined to support the amendment. His wife, president of the anti-suffrage society, backed him up. As daughter of a former secretary of state she had long been prominent in Washington, and it therefore created something of a sensation when President Wilson declined to receive a delegation of anti's headed by her. Mrs Wadsworth, however, was not dismayed and addressed her followers stoutly, thereafter

I hope God will inspire us and give us eloquence to carry our appeal for anti-suffrage, anti-socialism, anti-feminism and anti-demoralization into every home in this land. If the anti-suffragists had worked as hard as the suffragists, we might not be here today. I hate their methods and I despise some of their leaders, but I cannot help admiring their perseverance.

The anti's started a national organ called *The Woman Patriot*, about this time, the first number of which carried an editorial by "Marse Henry" Watterson of *The Louisville Courier-Journal*, from which the following excerpt is taken

Meantime the soul of Susan B. Anthony goes marching on toward the feminist goal of blatant infidelity . . . rejecting the religion of Christ and him crucified . . . in favor of the heresies of Voltaire, Paine and Ingersoll, along with the Free Love theories of Mary Wollstonecraft, Victoria Woodhull and Ellen Key.

It was said that many suffragists subscribed to *The Woman Patriot*, considering it next to Mr. Dooley as a mine of innocent merriment.

When it was plain that the Senate would not take up the Federal amendment, Mrs. Catt called a meeting of the national executive council of the suffrage association in Indianapolis, the middle of

April, and prepared to make good her words about changing Senators who could not change their minds. It assembled as the last great drive of the Germans on the Western Front was at its peak, and American armies were engaged in force. The Women's Defense Committee and the convention of the Indiana suffrage association were meeting simultaneously with Mrs. Catt's council meeting so that women could attend all three gatherings.

In opening the executive council meeting, Mrs. Catt reported that two obdurate Senators were all that stood between them and submission of the Federal amendment by the Sixty-fifth Congress. If those two votes could be secured, she had a ratification plan ready to be put into operation immediately the amendment was submitted. If the two votes could not be secured, she had alternative plans for going into the fall elections to defeat four of their senatorial enemies and elect four friends in their places to the Sixty-sixth Congress. Both plans assured submission in time for the amendment to be ratified before the next presidential election. Under pledge of secrecy she handed out the alternative plans.

As the members of the council listened, it dawned on them that they were being marshalled to carry through a political offensive not incomparable to breaking the Hindenburg Line on the Western Front! A mounting excitement seized them. The end of the long fight was in sight. Her own account of the Indianapolis trip is prosaic enough.<sup>29</sup>

All last week was spent in going, coming and staying by the Indianapolis meeting. It went well. There was one day of board meeting, and two of executive council. The [Indiana] state suffrage convention and a meeting of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense were running about the same time, with the result that quite a splash was made there. We have plans to ratify, when and if there is something to ratify, and plans for making trouble in the [fall] elections if we do not get [the amendment] through the Congress. The women were earnest, able, and more satisfactory all round than was once the case. I feel gratified with the results because we have covered all the chances.

These are cruel times, are they not? Even in your quiet garden you cannot forget the millions of young men who have given up their lives, and

<sup>29</sup> Letter to M. G. Peck, April 23, 1918.

perhaps that sacrifice is the least that the world is making      Nevertheless, women are coming into their own when it is over

The fruits of the Indianapolis council meeting soon were evident. *The Woman Citizen* began to publish lists of organizations which sent resolutions to the Senate urging favorable action on the suffrage amendment. Mrs. Catt's demand that the amendment be regarded as a war measure gained acceptance. Her secretary writes of these days of strain <sup>30</sup>

The behavior of the Senate, backing and filling, hauling and yanking, has rasped the Chief sometimes beyond endurance. If it fails to pass the amendment it will be a severer blow to her than most of us realize. She has had periods of deeper depression after some of her Washington trips than I have ever known her to have. Usually she comes out of them pretty quickly. There is no rest for her in the Washington headquarters and none here [New York]. The only place where she is free from contending forces is on a train alone with a book, suspended between somewhere and somewhere else.

On June 13, she went with a delegation to the White House to present a memorial drawn up by the French suffragists, requesting the President to embody in a declaration to all the world "the very profound words you have spoken to the women of New York." After a cordial informal talk, the President gave Mrs. Catt his written and signed reply to the memorial. At the end of the message came the words "*As for America, it is my earnest hope that the Senate of the United States will give an unmistakable answer to this question by passing the suffrage amendment to our Federal Constitution before the end of this session.*"

This was the first public statement by Mr. Wilson urging action by the Senate, and by affixing it to his reply to the memorial from the women of the Allied Powers, he had rescued himself from the predicament of proclaiming woman suffrage as an issue abroad when he had not made it an issue to his own Congress. However, the Senate—in face of resolutions demanding a vote which had been sent in by nearly six hundred meetings throughout the coun-

<sup>30</sup> C. Hyde to M. G. P., June 26, 1918

try—adjourned for the summer without action After two hundred such resolutions had been presented, the Senate revived an old ruling of abolitionist days against printing petitions and resolutions in the *Congressional Record*!

Disgusted as they were, the suffrage leaders were glad to get out of Washington during July and August, and the Capitol probably was glad to see the last of them Maud Wood Park went on a much needed vacation and Mrs Gardener went to the hospital for an operation It came to Mrs Catt's ears that Senator Curtis was perturbed because the President was acquiring so much merit in the suffrage camp, and she made a point of publicly blessing the Republican friends of the cause, pointing out that Senators Lodge, Wadsworth, Weeks, Moses and others should not be allowed to embitter the minds of women against the Republican Party "Instead of hating their party, let us retire some of these gentlemen from the Senate," she said In this connection, an event which took place during the summer gave her indescribable satisfaction

The New York State Republican Party held its nominating convention for the fall election in Saratoga in July, to which went more than a hundred women delegates, most of whom were old suffragists Many of them were put on committees, the chief honor being awarded to Mary Garrett Hay, who was made chairman of the Platform Committee, the most important position next to chairman of the convention itself. Never before had such an honor been given to a newcomer, and when her name was read off to the convention, one of the old party wheelhorses uttered a loud and agonized, "My God!" to the unbounded merriment of the women

Among the fifty-one members of the Platform Committee were Nicholas Murray Butler, Senator Wadsworth, Elon Brown and William Barnes, all of whom had labored to keep New York women from voting To say that it was a sweet morsel under Miss Hay's tongue to call those gentlemen to order as their presiding officer is to put it feebly When a solicitous committee member said, "You know it may mean sitting up all night," she replied jovially, "Oh, I've sat up all night at the door of so many platform committees, asking for a suffrage plank, that I shan't mind this in the

least!" They did sit up till 3 a m, met again at 9, and at 11 a m Miss Hay walked onto the rostrum, fresh and smiling, with the completed platform in her hand—the first time in history, it was said, that such a document had been reported on time. Great applause greeted her, which rose still louder when she announced that the committee report was unanimous, for as a plank endorsing the suffrage Federal amendment was included, it had been feared that the antisuffrage group would bring in a minority report. When she started to read the platform, the chairman interrupted to say he feared she could not be heard in the gallery, whereupon she asked conversationally "Can you hear, up there?" Instantly an indignant feminine voice replied, "Yes, of course, Mary!" As she was reading the last paragraph, some Woman's Party members let down over the gallery railing a banner demanding Senator Wadsworth's resignation! Said the *New York World* of the scene

Rarely has a Senator of the United States been confronted with such a situation as that faced by James Wadsworth, this morning. There is no denying the fact that they [the old guard] have drunk the deepest dregs of humiliation. They did not carry a single point for which they contested. They were even compelled to face the rack while Senator Wadsworth, their pride and joy, was subjected to the greatest indignity. Under the guidance of Miss Mary Garrett Hay, the Resolutions Committee put through a plank in the party platform calling upon the two New York Senators to vote for the suffrage Federal amendment. The old timers made their stand in the Resolutions Committee and never peeped in the open convention. Governor Whitman's mechanics grinned over [the women's] heads at Root, Wadsworth, Barnes, Payn, Sweet, Brackett, Livingston, Sheffield, Butler and other seasoned reactionaries trying to get used to the recurrent shocks that came from arms sheathed in silk and satin. The reading of the platform by Miss Hay was worth the experiment of bowing to a woman boss. Five-foot-four tall, of substantial proportions, white of hair and wearing a flannel skirt and white silk waist, the first woman chairman of a party Resolutions Committee in this state conducted herself like a veteran. In the first place, she read the long instrument of party faith so that it was not an instrument of torture, which in itself was a novelty.

Another hour of unalloyed bliss for Miss Hay was when she presided as chairman at the hearing given by the Platform Committee to the anti's who appeared asking a plank against the Fed-

eral amendment! Altogether, to Miss Hay Saratoga was memorable ever after for another surrender than Burgoyne's!

Congress was to convene August 26, and as the suffragists were determined to force a vote on the amendment before the fall election, Mrs Catt was back in Washington by the middle of the month. The situation confronting the women was about as involved as it could be. The war was at crisis as the advancing German army began to waver before Foch's great counter assault, the Fourth Liberty Loan drive was impending, Congress had submitted the prohibition amendment which was in process of ratification, a crop of acrimonious "investigations" had sprung up, and the Senate was anything but disposed to take a vote on the thorny suffrage amendment which was bound to make trouble for both parties in the election.

On their side, the suffragists had their hands more than full. Campaigns were running in South Dakota, Oklahoma, Michigan and Louisiana. Oklahoma had a constitution almost impossible to amend and had started her campaign against the earnest advice of the national suffrage association. Then, having started it, she laid it in the lap of the national association to direct and finance! Mrs Shuler, corresponding secretary of the association, spent much of the year 1918 gnashing her teeth in Oklahoma. All available workers were turned into the state campaigns, which made the burden on those board members left in Washington much heavier.

At last the Senate, yielding to pressure, set October 1 as the date for a vote on the amendment, and debate began September 26. The day before the vote was taken, Mrs Catt went with a delegation of thirty-five women to call on Vice President Marshall, to present him with data showing the nation-wide demand for favorable action. The record showed resolutions by the Democratic and Republican national committees and state committees, memorials sent in by fourteen legislatures, planks in twenty-six state party platforms and many hundreds of organization resolutions. Mrs Catt also made a personal appeal to the President for aid.

It was in response to this appeal that on Monday, September 30, Woodrow Wilson announced that he would come before the Senate

at one o'clock with a special message Just before the hour, the Cabinet entered the Senate Chamber, and exactly on the stroke of one, the Senate with one exception rose from their seats [the exception being Senator Reed of Missouri], followed by everybody in the galleries, and amid deep silence the President entered and walked quickly to the desk Congress was accustomed to hearing Mr Wilson read his messages and being impressed by their delivery, but never had it listened with closer attention than on this occasion, and never did the President read a message with greater earnestness He had aged noticeably during recent months, and although the tide of war had set toward victory, his gaunt figure bore witness to the mental and physical strain under which he was living

His message was not short He showed that in being endorsed by all the parties, the issue had been removed from partisan politics. He made his main argument for the enfranchisement of women, first as a war measure, then as essential to the "right solution of the problems which we must settle, and settle immediately, when the war is over We shall need, then, in our vision of affairs as we have never needed them before, the sympathy and insight and clear moral instinct of the women of the world "

His closing words fell on a silence that was absolute

The problems of that time will strike at the roots of many things that we have not hitherto questioned, and I for one believe that our safety in those questioning days, as well as our comprehension of matters that touch society to the quick, will depend upon the direct and authoritative participation of women in our counsels Without their counsellings, we shall be only half wise

That is my case This is my appeal The executive tasks of this war rest upon me I ask that you lighten them and place in my hands instruments, spiritual instruments, which I do not now possess, which I sorely need, and which I have daily to apologize for not being able to employ

Then he gathered up his manuscript, turned and left the room That he had lost command over his own party appeared from the fact that he was scarcely outside the door when Senator Underwood of Alabama was on his feet speaking against the amendment Senator Reed of Missouri followed with an unseemly tirade in

which he shouted "A petticoat brigade awaits outside, and Senate leaders like pages trek back and forth for orders!" Mrs Catt and Maud Wood Park listened to the message in the section reserved for the suffragists in the northwest Senate gallery. It was a great moment when the President of the United States came before Congress in behalf of the suffrage amendment to the Constitution, and they were stirred to the depths. Said Mrs Park, "When the words of that noble speech fell on our ears, Monday afternoon, it seemed impossible that a third of the Senate could refuse the never-to-be-forgotten plea." The greatest tribute was paid by a Republican Senator who said he would rather have written that message than be President!

The vote was taken the following day, and the amendment was lost, 62 for, 34 against—two votes shy of a constitutional majority. The indignation of the women was centered on two Senators, who although representing suffrage states voted in the negative. Borah of Idaho and Wadsworth of New York. From her seat in the crowded gallery Mrs Catt heard the roll call, and when the result was announced saw Senator Lodge, Republican floor leader, and Senator Smith of South Carolina, Democratic floor leader, throw their arms around each other and caper across the floor!<sup>31</sup> Although lost on Congress, the effect of the President's message on the country at large gave enormous prestige to suffrage as a war measure.

Following news of the Senate defeat, Mrs Fawcett wrote Mrs Catt

Truly the task of the United States is gigantic. If we had had your conditions, we should have failed in the House of Lords. British authorities have always said your constitution is the most conservative on earth.

Mrs. Pankhurst, who was in America at the time, commented

I wonder if your senators realize that they are now actually less progressive than the House of Lords.

<sup>31</sup> When Mrs Catt told this incident to the writer, she ended with, "I have a hot flash every time I think of it!"



Alice Stone Blackwell took a more merciful view. Said she:

On the woman question, the Senate and the House of Lords seem to be about neck and neck!

Mrs Catt's plan of action in case of a Senate defeat, which had been presented at the Indianapolis meeting, now went automatically into operation. Four hostile Senators were marked for liquidation, Weeks of Massachusetts, Moses of New Hampshire, Baird of New Jersey and Saulsbury of Delaware. When the Massachusetts state suffrage association was told that Weeks was to be opposed for re-election they were dismayed and exclaimed, "He is the very head of the Republican machine!" Nevertheless, they took active part in forming an independent anti-Weeks campaign committee which directed the forces working for his defeat. To Maud Wood Park was attributed one telling stroke against him. She recalled that Weeks had been a bitter opponent of the recent appointment of Justice Brandeis to the United States Supreme Court. Mr Brandeis had been a leader in the Zionist movement and as Massachusetts Jews were normally Republican here was a grievance which could be capitalized. It did not require much persuasion to extract a generous anti-Weeks contribution from Mrs Joseph Fels, who was a good suffragist as well as a Zionist, and as a result there was not a Jewish organization in the state which was not visited by anti-Weeks speakers. To rouse the liberal and labor forces against him, two prominent Massachusetts suffragists went to Washington and searched the *Congressional Record* for Weeks' vote on every important measure during his congressional career. It was consistently reactionary, and formed the most damaging indictment against him. What Weeks was to Massachusetts, Moses was to New Hampshire—the very head of the Republican machine. The suffragists certainly had not tried to pick out weak enemies!

October, 1918, was a period of such pressure as even Mrs Catt had not experienced before. She was in duty bound to speak for the Fourth Liberty Loan. She had promised to speak for the fifth South Dakota suffrage campaign, and was about to go there when

she was stricken with influenza Mrs Halsey Wilson was catapulted out to South Dakota in her stead, but on her arrival there found that on account of an epidemic of influenza which was sweeping the whole country all public meetings had been forbidden in the four states where suffrage campaigns were running The fatality of the disease was frightful everywhere, but worst in the army cantonments where men died by the thousands Nothing but the tremendous news coming back from Europe could have dwarfed the bad news at home Huge headlines announced the collapse of Bulgaria and Turkey, and the request of the German Government—no longer called Imperial—for an armistice The Kaiser had been dropped and nobody knew where he was The proudest war machine in the world was humbly sung for peace

But to the suffrage leader, chained to her bed like St Lawrence to the gridiron, the end of the war brought no relief from her immediate political problems She looked and was extremely ill, but nothing on earth could have held her back on Election Day from going to the polls with Miss Hay to cast their first vote When they drove up to the polling place, they were met by a battery of cameras and a group of reporters At the same election, Mrs Rhoda Palmer of Seneca County, New York, last survivor of the first woman's rights convention in Seneca Falls in 1848, cast her first vote at the age of one hundred and two years She had lived through the entire course of the movement in the state where it began

Mrs Catt waited in suspense for returns from the four suffrage campaign states, for two or three more suffrage states would greatly strengthen the drive on Congress Almost immediately victory was reported by South Dakota and Michigan, Oklahoma was uncertain for a long time, then almost incredibly, considering its constitution, it fell to the suffrage forces, while Louisiana was lost by only five thousand votes furnished by New Orleans This brilliant record was achieved in face of every known obstacle, and great credit for the Oklahoma victory was attributed to Mrs Shuler's tireless leadership The Louisiana defeat was a bitter disappointment to the Gordon sisters and other states rights suffragists.

Next to the state victories, the result of the election which gave deepest satisfaction to Mrs Catt was the fall of the mighty Weeks of Massachusetts and Saulsbury of Delaware. Moses of New Hampshire and Baird of New Jersey retained their seats in the Senate by greatly reduced margins. The additional two votes for the Federal amendment now had been secured.

Hard on the heels of the election came the armistice of November 11, with its ominous rumors of anarchy and collapse, of fragments of armies marching, homeless and penniless, across Eastern Europe and Siberia, of hordes of prisoners turned out of concentration camps to get home as best they could across ruined enemy countries. To complete the appalling picture, the Allied Powers continued their blockade, which meant slow starvation to the defeated enemy, until the peace was signed.

During the war years, Mrs Catt read much about past wars and the kind of peace which terminated them. She was especially interested in the Treaty of Vienna at the end of the Napoleonic wars. She knew that Wilson's Fourteen Points were now to be put to the acid test. Before the armistice was declared, she had proposed that the first postwar meeting of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance be held simultaneously and in the same place with the Peace Commission.

Immediately following the cessation of hostilities she called a meeting of representatives of women's organizations to demand a place for women on the American Peace Commission. In opening the meeting she said:

In every treaty at the close of previous wars, the seeds of new wars have lain dormant. If women are not heard at the peace conference now to be held, this war will not have been a war to end war.

The resolution adopted at the meeting called on the President, in view of the fact that women had been essential to the prosecution of the war and would be high contracting parties to the peace, to give women representation on the Peace Commission. Canadian women's organizations immediately endorsed the demand, as did several women's organizations and labor groups in the United States.

In an interview she gave to the Scipps-McRae papers she touched on another phase of the postwar disregard of women

Never has the inability of men to think in women's terms been more emphatically shown than in their large and cheerful disposition to settle the critical labor problems confronting the world today without taking into account the women who have been the main reliance of the industry of the world during the war. In commitments being made by manufacturers' associations and labor unions alike to the homecoming soldier, you find not a word of her save the suggestion that she run along home, now! The war is over, men want the jobs

In all the great problems facing the world today, men and women have a joint concern, and in them all each sex has its special concern. The peace conference is the herald of a new order, and in that new order women are to be represented not by men but by themselves. International lawyers may be needed in the making of contracts, but the great contract that ends this war will have to be something more than legal. It will have to be a composite of the best and highest thought and feeling for humanity that each country can produce. Men as it happens have no monopoly of the highest thought and feeling of the age. Society is entitled to have woman's best thought and feeling as well as man's reflected in the deliberations to end a war for which society has had to pay so cruel a price

This plea for participation in the peace conference sprang from her profound belief that men never had made and never could make a wise peace, as long as the same politicians who had made the war were the ones to settle on the peace terms. Her acquaintance with the outstanding women in all the warring countries, her knowledge of their international point of view, gave some hope that the presence of the right women at the peace conference would bring a new force into play which would work for a healing instead of an exacerbating settlement. This hope was unrealized, however. The statesmen and the warriors, who had well nigh scuttled the ship of Western civilization, wrangled undisturbed by women

The suffragists were now assured of the two additional votes in the Senate of the Sixty-sixth Congress, which they needed, but the new Congress would not convene until March, 1919. Meantime, the opposition in the Senate meant to obstruct the amendment as long as the Sixty-fifth Congress lasted. Their reason for doing

this was not solely to take revenge for their defeat in the recent election, but to delay ratification of the amendment until after the next presidential election so that women could not vote in it on a nation-wide scale

Mrs Catt had foreseen this situation. Her first objective, now, was to get a reconsideration vote in the Senate before it expired, favorable if possible, but a vote anyhow. As soon as Congress assembled for its "lame duck" session, in accordance with her plan a stream of resolutions began to pour down on the Senate from the newly convened state legislatures urging immediate submission of the amendment. No less than twenty-four such resolutions were sent, five of them calling on Senators by name to vote for submission. President Wilson in his message to Congress on the eve of his departure for Paris with the Peace Commission again urged submission of the suffrage amendment. Party leaders in Washington, alarmed by the pressure from anxious politicians back home and by continual delegations of women arriving in Washington, labored with the thirty-four die-hard Senators. National Committeemen came and went distractedly.

Mrs Catt commuted between Washington and the national headquarters in New York, directing her forces with the energetic cooperation of national and state leaders. In the New York headquarters Mrs Shuler was in charge. In Washington Maud Wood Park and her Congressional committee were sleepless in their vigilance. Finally, death took a hand in the deadlock by removing Senator Ben Tillman of South Carolina, and the man appointed in his place decided to vote for the amendment, this left only one vote obstructing submission. The exasperation of women in the states represented by opposition Senators mounted steadily. Easy-going Harriet Taylor Upton wrote Mrs Catt, "I have always hated Jeff Davis and Judas Iscariot, but I have now added Atlee Pomerene!" Mrs. Catt wrote Mrs. Park, "We must not waste any of our energy over temper. It looks as though they had beaten us in this Congress." In another letter she said, "We are going to have

a deluge of state referenda if we don't get the Federal amendment, and that makes me quake!"

January passed, February was well under way, and the end of the session was only a few days off, when Senators Weeks and Wadsworth ceased their long vigil to keep the measure from coming to vote. Mrs. Catt was ill in New York when word came that the vote would be taken February 10. She immediately wrote a letter by hand to Mrs. Park which was designed to soften the blow which an adverse decision would deal that devoted and tireless lieutenant.

Apparently our chances have not been changed except by the additional earnestness of our friends and bitterness of our foes. Well, if fate perches victory on our bedraggled and outworn banners, we shall all be glad and perhaps we shall even feel jubilant. But if our familiar experience is repeated, I want you to know that I am resigned. Editorials if and if are written and ready for the *Citizen*. Mrs. Shuler is bringing the telegrams to send out if we go through, and bulletins if we do and if we don't are ready, too. In any event the delay cannot be long. Those who will eventually triumph can afford to be patient and forgiving.

If through we go, it was you who did it, if through we don't go, no other human being could have put it through. Nothing has been left undone, except the Lord's creation of certain creatures who pass for statesmen. *He* might have done a better job!

I am mending my physical incapacities so as to be in better trim for the next battle, and I therefore will not be down for the Victory Dinner. With the most loving and complete confidence one human being can feel for another, I am

Yours for victory,  
Yours for defeat,  
Carrie Chapman Catt

The letter indicates her thorough preparation for any event, two sets of publicity, two editorials, two plans of action "if and if", telegrams ready to launch the ratification campaign without loss of a minute were lying on her desk the day before the vote was taken. The vote in the Senate stood unchanged, however, except for the minority's loss of the vote of Senator Tillman and the corresponding gain by the majority of the vote of his successor. The "reconstruction" vote was 63 for submission, 33 against, and the amendment was defeated by one vote.

With the second defeat of the amendment in the Sixty-fifth Congress, expired Mrs Catt's hope of obtaining ratification during regular sessions of the state legislatures. She was now faced with the grim prospect of getting some thirty governors to call special sessions to ratify the amendment after it should be submitted by the incoming Congress.

However, the end of suspense was a relief. She had been warned by repeated colds and a bad heart that she must go slower, and she was glad to stay away from Washington. The apartment house where she had been living for ten years was changing hands and she had to look for a new home. She chose an apartment at 113 Riverside Drive, on the tenth floor with a magnificent view of the Hudson River and the Palisades. Her car took her downtown to the headquarters each morning and brought her home at night. She ate a sandwich luncheon in the office, usually carrying on a conference at the same time. It was the sedentary routine she had followed for years, and she did not realize until she started to walk somewhere with her old swift step that her heart was pounding before she had gone a block.

In February, the President had come back from Paris bringing the preliminary draft of the Versailles Treaty and a month later he returned to Paris with the amendments proposed by the Senate. He left behind him an uproar of hostility, ranging from the frenzy of his political enemies to that of the Woman's Party who took to burning his speeches on Boston Common and elsewhere. Mrs Catt regarded the last as an insufferable performance and said so publicly. The President had done all in his power, she felt, to get Congress to submit the suffrage amendment. Hardly second to her indignation at the Party on this count was her deep resentment at their effort to damage the President at the moment when he was putting through the League of Nations, which was the one constructive idea which had come out of the war. To attack the League's founder on a false pretext at this time, she felt, was an unspeakable betrayal.

The new Congress was to be called in special session as soon as Woodrow Wilson came home from the second trip to Paris with

the Peace Treaty and League of Nations Covenant As soon as possible thereafter, the suffrage Federal amendment would be put through Congress In the interim the Jubilee Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of its founding, was to be held in St Louis, the last week in March, 1919

It was believed that this would be the last convention held before the adoption of the Nineteenth Amendment enfranchising women, and many suffragists were asking a serious question What was to be done with the suffrage association then? Should it be disbanded? Nothing like it for efficiency had been built up out of volunteer forces before, and thousands of loyal workers could not bear the thought of tossing it into the discard at the height of its usefulness It was Mrs Catt herself who answered this question and proposed a constructive solution

When the call to the St Louis Jubilee Convention was sent out by the national officers, it contained the following sentence

As a fitting memorial to a half century of progress, the association invites the women voters of the fifteen full suffrage states to attend this anniversary and there to join their forces in a *League of Women Voters*, one of whose objects shall be to speed the suffrage campaign in our own and other countries

In her address at the opening of the convention, Mrs Catt proposed the founding of a League of Women Voters to "finish the fight" which the suffrage association began, fifty years before, and to be a fitting commemoration of the first conferring of the ballot on women by the State of Wyoming in 1869 She spoke of the approaching victory of the suffrage cause, and then went on

What could be more patriotic than that these women should use their new freedom to make the country safer for their children and their children's children?

She urged that the League be free from religious or race bias, that it continue to work for freeing women from remaining legal discriminations, that it aid the women of other countries to obtain equal rights She described the great need to be met by the new



organization if it adopted a program of non-partisan political education and leadership—a field unoccupied by any other group. She suggested the expansion of the schools for citizenship which had grown up in the suffrage campaign as a logical beginning of a determined fight against “the world’s oldest enemy, corrupt reaction.”

It was not the speech of a victorious general, but the appeal of a leader who has at last got an army together and equipped with weapons to fight. She spoke frankly of the League as an experiment and suggested a five-year trial. If by the end of that period it had demonstrated its value they might consider it a permanent organization. The assurance of a continuation of activities strangely enough acted like a tonic upon women who were to all appearances pretty well tired out when they assembled, and they proceeded with zeal to set up a League of Women Voters, with Mrs. Charles Brooks of Kansas as chairman, which should be a section of the national suffrage organization until permanent organization was effected at the next convention of the parent association.

The most important subject before the convention was the approaching special session of the new Congress and submission of the amendment. The Sixty-fifth Congress, by refusing to submit the amendment in a year when forty-two state legislatures were in session and ratification might be quickly accomplished, had postponed ratification to a year when only ten legislatures would be sitting! By delaying submission to a legislative off year the opponents of the measure had compelled the women to ask the majority of the states to call special sessions to ratify, with all the trouble and expense entailed. They hoped by so doing to delay ratification long enough to prevent women from voting on a nation-wide scale in the next presidential election. Also no doubt they just wanted to make ratification as hard as they could! Mrs. Catt knew what was to be expected and went to St. Louis with plans fully laid for the special sessions, and discussed them in detail with state delegations whose task it would be to carry them out.

After the business had been disposed of, the convention turned to celebration of its fiftieth anniversary. Mrs. Guilford Dudley of Chattanooga, as spokesman for the women of sixteen southern states, presented Mrs. Catt and Dr. Shaw with copies of the President's historic suffrage message to Congress beautifully illuminated on parchment and appropriately framed. There were eloquent tributes to the pioneers of the movement now approaching its conclusion, none more striking than Rachel Foster Avery's commemoration of Susan B. Anthony. Mrs. Avery had not been active in the cause for many years, and as she came to the front of the platform she was not recognized by the majority of the audience. But the old suffragists gazed at her with startled eyes, for they not only recognized her, but something else which her first words explained to the generation which knew not Miss Anthony.

"The dress I have on," said Mrs. Avery, "is one of Miss Anthony's just as she used to wear it, and this is the shawl she used to wear." No introduction could have been more moving than the display of that brilliant Indian shawl, carried by the old leader wherever she went and now deposited with the suffrage relics in the Smithsonian Museum. It was fitting that Rachel Foster Avery, whom Miss Anthony had greatly loved, should make her last appearance on the suffrage stage in the act of commemorating her famous leader—for Mrs. Avery did not live to see another convention.

It was Alice Stone Blackwell, however, who struck the high note of the commemoration in giving personal recollections of Lucy Stone and Henry Blackwell, the Garrisons, and others of that pioneer group who had headquarters in New England, and also paying tribute to the unsurpassed services of their present leader. Miss Blackwell made no attempt to enhance her words by any art of oratory, but her address was so classic in its simplicity, so rich in feeling, that at the close her silent listeners experienced a moment of supreme exaltation.

In Tasso's "Jerusalem Delivered," [she said] when the long siege of the city nears its end, there comes a moment when the eyes of the Crusaders are miraculously opened, and they see the spirits of all their comrades who have

fallen in the Holy War still with them and fighting by their side. If our eyes could be opened, we might see all these our pioneers still working with us on this eve of our nation-wide victory.

The Missouri Legislature did a gracious thing while the convention was in session by conferring presidential suffrage on the women of the state—the twenty-seventh state so to act.

On her way home from St. Louis, Mrs. Catt stopped for speeches in Indiana and West Virginia, and was made aware of the extreme disfavor with which the new League of Women Voters was regarded in political circles. Old line partisans who reluctantly agreed to support votes for women only when the movement was too strong to resist, pierced to the quick by the "non-partisan" character of the League cried out in anguish, "Are we giving these ungrateful creatures political power only to see them use it to destroy our parties?" The Women's Republican Club of New York passed a resolution which called the new organization "a menace to our national life"—un-American in principle—encouraging dissension between men and women voters, and sent a copy to Mrs. Catt. The founder of the League replied promptly:

Any body of intelligent women would certainly have gone to the trouble of learning what the League of Women Voters is before they pronounced against it. In order that you may know how far wrong you are, I enclose a statement of the aims of the League. Those who advocate such aims cannot justly be accused of being "a menace to our national life." Those who oppose the program may stand charged with that accusation.

She thought the action of the club was precipitated by antisuffragists in the membership, and observed dryly that they were providing a sorry inducement to progressive women to join their organization.

The postwar reactionary years which she long had feared were now come. The ugly emotions which had been whipped up by war propaganda against the Hun, now that they were deprived of their original object were seized upon by crafty and designing interests for their own purposes. Adopting the mask of "patriotism," a witch burning mania manifested itself among the weaker minded all the way from the Attorney General of the United States down to the

Ku Klux Klan. Ex-President Taft was shaken by fears of "subversive activities." The leaders of the suffrage cause by hard experience over many years had learned where to look for the most powerful enemies not only of their own movement, but of every other reform. Mrs. Catt in speeches and editorials in *The Woman Citizen* described them as

That clever, insistent, reactionary minority that for years has controlled through the brewing and whiskey interests, through enormous contributions to both parties, through its purchase of votes and its absolute dictatorship over men in high places, the politics of the nation. This minority shows itself in railroad management, in the great cotton industries North and South, in the packers trust, in the United States Senate.

Later on, when she had time to pursue the subject further, she took on coal, oil, and public utilities as deserving investigation.

In the interim between the Sixty-fifth and Sixty-sixth Congresses, she made up her mind to buy a place in the country to which she could retreat between her incessant comings and goings. After intensive research, she selected a farm in the Saw Mill River Valley some three miles east of Ossining in Westchester County. There was a good sized stone and shingle house, a stream running down a rocky ravine so near the house that the sound of running water was continually in the air, a fine view of the wooded hills on the opposite side of the valley. Above all, the peace of the place was undisturbed except by an occasional distant railway whistle or the few autos passing below on the then unfrequented Saw Mill River Road. Mr. Catt's former partner came to see her about the time she bought the place, and he exhorted her to fix it the way she wanted it regardless of expense. He knew her lifelong habit of economizing on her own comfort. Strange to say, she took his advice, having great respect for his business judgment. The letters she wrote about her purchase at this time indicate her need of diversion and her happiness in finding it.

April 13, 1919. When I returned from St. Louis last Saturday I found a pile of international mail spelling turmoil and world war continued among the women now that the men have quit. It took all day Sunday, Monday and Tuesday to settle it, and in the interim I engaged movers, rug cleaners,

etc Wednesday I went to Philadelphia to the state convention, and returned Thursday evening Friday I spent a busy day at the office Saturday I spent the morning with more movers, and in the afternoon went farm hunting. We visited five and I came home lame all over, but slept the sleep of the just I dreamed of babbling brooks, and today we have been out again to see the farm where the brook babbled the nicest I presume it dries up in summer and that I will have to do my own babbling! I am in love with the place It is all in stone terraces, but it has some old apple trees, very picturesque but probably of no other value It is isolated, quiet, restful, and gives promise of fun There isn't much of any level land, God designed it for tired nerves, not profit

May 8, 1919 This morning I went down to Wall Street and got the deed to my farm, so it is really mine . I get something over sixteen acres of land, an artesian well with water pumped by a windmill, a barn and a house The farm is composed of three natural ledges or terraces There are outcroppings of rock almost anywhere and the only arable soil is in little pockets here and there The soil is unlike any I ever met It certainly isn't loam nor clay nor sand It is a feeble imitation of all three with plenty of rock in it! All directions say to fill the pockets with top soil and rotted manure Well, there is no soil, top or bottom, and when the stuff that goes into a cow is as poor as that grown in Westchester County, the stuff which comes out cannot enrich a very large space! . . This is a full and complete description of Juniper Ledge It is mine for better or worse

The Westchester soil continued to weigh on her mind A little later she writes

I am still in love with my farm, but the soil is simply impossible! Perhaps if I could get a corner on manure I might make a few flowers bloom. I have a cow and she is even now decorating the landscape When I find a place to get chickens I shall set my hennery going Meantime, I am making a deal to build a little house for the chauffeur and a sleeping porch for my house

We are in a terrible state of chaos here, chiefly because people to do things are so difficult to find "I wish suffrage was in Bungy this summer, so I could play!"<sup>32</sup>

But suffrage was by no means in "Bungy" and her efforts to develop Juniper Ledge were sandwiched in between the most arduous labors of her life By July, she had transformed the place She

<sup>32</sup> Letters C C Catt to M G Peck

bought carloads of fertilizer, blasted a driveway out of the rock to make a sweeping approach to the house, laid out vegetable and flower gardens and got them into bloom and bearing, contracted for a greenhouse, cleared the stream channel and bordered it with iris, in short, running true to form she catapulted the estate forward two years within the space of six weeks

The writer has a vivid memory of her first sight of Juniper Ledge. It was on the July day when Woodrow Wilson returned to New York from his last trip to Paris, bringing the Peace Commission's acceptance of the Senate reservations to the League of Nations Covenant. Late that afternoon he had ridden up Fifth Avenue, escorted by mounted police, with soldiers on the running boards of his car, scanning the crowds which roared their welcome. Standing in the car was the President's gaunt figure, hat in hand, acknowledging the plaudits of his countrymen. Although smiling, his face was deeply lined, the lower part darkly flushed, the brow white as his hair.

That evening, Mrs. Catt made a strong plea for the League of Nations at a public dinner in New York, after which she and the writer drove out to Juniper Ledge. It was a beautiful and restful ride lasting more than an hour under a full midsummer moon, part of the way along the Hudson, then out into the Westchester hills. Turning in through a stone gateway and climbing the steep grade to the house, one beheld wide lawn, flower borders, terraced hillside, great out-cropping rocks, spire-like junipers, forest trees, old apple trees, and at the end of the climb one looked off over a long and misty valley spread out below, and became aware of the murmur of water as it fell from ledge to ledge down the hill.

During the ride Mrs. Catt had spoken with deep concern of the President's impending battle with the Senate over the League of Nations, and of the last ditch fight the same men who were opposing the League were putting up against the suffrage amendment. She spoke of the heartbreaking difficulty of getting the amendment ratified in an off-legislative year. Evidently one trouble led to another in her mind, for she referred again to the wretched soil of Westchester County as contrasted with the rich loam of Iowa. Once when

her father found a snake in the field, she said, he couldn't find a stone with which to kill it! She spoke with envy of seeing Dr M Carey Thomas start off on a world trip with four suitcases full of books. Her own time on train or boat always had to be employed in getting up a speech or setting down agenda for a conference, to the great impoverishment of her mind. "What little I know, I've had to snatch at," she said regretfully.

Everybody knew when the Sixty-sixth Congress assembled in special session in May, 1919, that it was going to submit the suffrage amendment. The President's message urged it, the House of Representatives put it first on the calendar and passed it by an immense majority the third day of the session. In the Senate, although the final result was no less certain, the die-hards went down fighting to the last. Reed of Missouri spoke five hours against the amendment after which La Follette gained the floor and made the sensational speech of the "debate" consisting of only one word, "VOTE!" After Borah, Brandegee, Underwood and Wadsworth had had their last fling, at five o'clock in the afternoon of Wednesday, June 4, the Senate voted, 66 to 30, to submit the Nineteenth Amendment. Congress had surrendered to the most brilliant constitutional campaign ever conducted in this country.

Speaker Gillett of the House of Representatives signed the bill in the presence of Mrs Maud Wood Park, victorious director of the suffrage congressional lobby, Mrs Gardener, Miss Hay, Mrs Upton, Ida Husted Harper and Miss Marjorie Shuler. After signing, Mr Gillett asked to whom he should give the pen, and Mrs Gardner replied, "Kindly give it to our Congressional chairman, Mr Speaker," and it was handed to Mrs Park. The following day, the bill was signed by Vice President Marshall in the presence of many friendly Senators and the same representatives of the suffrage association, with the exception of Miss Hay who had gone home. The Vice President, like Speaker Gillett, had been opposed to the amendment, but being a genial soul he came into the room with a broad smile and shook hands all round. The "Victory Pen" with which he signed the bill was the same one that had been used by Speaker Gillett the

previous day. It is now in the Smithsonian Museum in Washington with the other historic relics placed there by the National American Woman Suffrage Association. After the signing, moving pictures were taken, congratulations exchanged, and Congress heaved a deep breath of relief that woman suffrage would plague it no more. The last episode in the long struggle at the Capitol was a gracious and kindly one. Vice President Marshall and Speaker Gillett presented Mrs. Catt and Dr. Shaw with facsimiles of the amendment, engrossed on parchment and signed with original autographs. These copies, together with the Seneca Falls "Declaration of Rights" of 1848, placed together and labelled, "The Beginning and the End," are in the suffrage collection at the Smithsonian.

Mrs. Catt did not go to Washington for the passage of the amendment, preferring to remain in New York to launch without delay the campaign to get the governors to call special sessions of the state legislatures to ratify the amendment. After the vote in the Senate, Miss Hay had come back to New York as soon as she could get there, bringing Mrs. Catt eye-witness notes on the scene: how Senator Lodge had not opened his head except to vote "No", how suffrage Senators had agreed not to speak except to correct misstatements; how one Democrat, unable to contain himself, had shouted that he was ashamed to listen to the antisuffrage speeches of certain fellow Democrats, how the gallery three times broke the rule against demonstrations, once when Spencer of Missouri dissented from his colleague, Senator Reed, once when Senator Underwood inadvertently voted for instead of against the amendment, and when the final vote was announced. There was no doxology, this time, the gallery crowd making a bee-line for home to start the campaign for ratification.

A cablegram came from President Wilson in Paris to congratulate Mrs. Catt; two words, "Glory Hallelujah!" from anxious Mrs. Fawcett in London, and many others from foreign friends; but the jubilation in this country took the form of immediate activity for ratification.



## *Drive for Ratification, 1919-1920*

Within an hour after the vote in the Senate, Mrs Catt launched the drive for ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment. Telegrams were dispatched to the governors of all states where special sessions of the legislatures would be necessary. The first to give favorable response were Governors Al Smith of New York and Henry Allen of Kansas, soon followed by a dozen others. A few days after her first telegram, she sent a second which brought in a few additional responses. In less than a week after the amendment was submitted, it was ratified by Illinois and Wisconsin where the legislatures were in regular session, and on the same day, June 10, 1919, Michigan ratified, its legislature having been summoned in special session and ratifying neck and neck with the other two. In quick succession eight other states ratified, so that the Nineteenth Amendment received eleven ratifications within a month after submission, irreconcilable Senator Reed's state of Missouri being one of them. A somewhat incoherent letter to Mrs Catt from Harriet Taylor Upton describes the Ohio ratification.

For heaven's sake send me some kind of an address so I can telegraph you! I always have to telegraph you when I know you are not in the office, and I don't know your country address. Well, we had a great time at Columbus.

Elizabeth Hauser and I went down Sunday night. The amendment was sent to the legislature as soon as it convened on Monday. I never saw such a beautiful spirit in any organization. In the Assembly, the Democratic floor leader begged his men to vote unanimously for ratification. Mr Beetham, floor leader on the Republican side, said he had listened to arguments in the United States Senate for four hours and he never heard anything so silly and futile, and he hoped nobody would spend a minute arguing. The roll was called and the vote was 73 to 6. When it was announced, the Speaker said the floor and galleries could cheer. We had been so long used to

being suppressed that we did not holler as loud as we might have, and the floor outdid us!

Then the Speaker sent a man to conduct us to the Senate which was waiting for us. The first thing after the prayer was the receiving of the message from the House, and the ratification was done immediately, so that we were through the legislature about four o'clock.

When we went home, we all went into a regular saloon (prohibition was in force of course) and drank lemonade with the bar right in sight. It was a lovely place and I don't wonder men like to go there. The bar tender was awfully interested in us, too.

Did anybody tell you Mr. A. was dead? O, I think I did! Never mind, as he is still dead, it is all right!

The opponents of the amendment were not through opposing it in Ohio, however. They circulated a petition for a popular referendum for recall of the ratification, a proceeding which was declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court, shortly afterward.

In the midst of the initial rush of ratifications of the amendment, news of the death of Dr. Anna Howard Shaw came as a great shock to Mrs. Catt. Dr. Shaw had contracted pneumonia while on a speaking trip with ex-President Taft and President Lowell of Harvard under the auspices of the League to Enforce Peace. She had recovered apparently, then suffered a relapse which ended in death. The funeral was held in Dr. Shaw's home in Moylan, Pennsylvania, and Lucy Anthony who lived with Miss Shaw asked Mrs. Catt to make the main address.

The day was oppressively hot, the brick house at Moylan was crowded with friends from far and near who were deeply affected by the old leader's passing. Rev. Caroline Bartlett Crane read the Twenty-third Psalm, after which Mrs. Catt spoke. She paid tribute to her famous collaborator's intimate association with Susan B. Anthony, to her superb genius as orator, to her courage, wit, skill as a debater, above all to her lifelong devotion to her cause. At the conclusion of her eulogy, in accordance with a request of Lucy Anthony, she placed upon the dead leader's breast the suffrage brooch be-

queathed to her by Susan B. Anthony. Altogether, the funeral was a trying ordeal, for she was deeply distressed by the fact that her old comrade should have fallen just before the final victory. During these difficult days, her mind often dwelt upon the courage and faith of the women who began the fight for justice with the whole world against them.

The early rush of ratifications which followed submission of the amendment soon slackened. Nine states ratified in June, three in July, two in August, three in September. Mrs. Catt's ratification plan had been based on the supposition that the equal suffrage states would take the lead in ratifying, and that the opposition would make its stand in the conservative East and South. But things were not turning out that way. Not a single far-western suffrage state ratified till Utah tardily came across in September, while refractory Massachusetts and Pennsylvania were among the first to ratify, the Pennsylvania Legislature actually bursting forth in joyous song when the vote was announced.<sup>1</sup> In July, Mrs. Catt sent four able envoys to labor with the western governors, and to appeal to the annual conference of governors which met in Salt Lake City that year. Ten governors gave favorable response, but they gave no signs of calling the special sessions.<sup>1</sup> When October arrived, Mrs. Catt decided to go west herself, taking along a troupe of her best campaign speakers to stir the western women voters to go after their governors. She was in pessimistic mood as she prepared for the trip, as the following letter testifies.<sup>33</sup>

In spring and youth, all is hope with abundant expectancy of beauty and eventualities. In the fall and advancing years, all nature bids you get what you can out of failures and debris, and be content that you get anything.<sup>1</sup> It is fall and the wretched rain is rotting everything, and my governors politely tell me they will call their special sessions when they are ready and not before. I was convinced when I left the office last night that most of them wouldn't do it before January, and that we cannot celebrate on Miss Anthony's birthday. So with the rain and the rot and the governors, I have been down to the bottom of the dumps today. I bought a few new novels, have started two, and if they reflect present day literature or the popular mind, I

<sup>33</sup> C. C. Catt to M. G. Peck, Sept. 23, 1919.

must say the outlook is gloomy      I turn to the newspapers, and read of strikes in every column except those where the Senate is calling the President names or he is retaliating      It is an infinitely sadder and more anxious time than the war period      Ten million men—heroes—lie dead, but what were they heroes for, and what good did it do?      We need confidence in something, but nothing commands it      My family are all restless to get back to town, but I still like the farm

When she got on the train with her troupe, however, she began to feel better      Action was a tonic      On one occasion when she was worried because Maud Wood Park showed signs of being overburdened with Congressional work, she suggested that the latter leave Washington for a while and go out over the country on a speaking trip      She thought it would rest her!

Accompanying Mrs Catt on the western tour were committee chairmen of the League of Women Voters, Mrs Edward Costigan, Dr Valeria Parker, Mrs Frederick Bagley, Mrs Raymond Robins, Julia Lathrop of the Children's Bureau, Jessie Haver of the Consumer's League, and others      League conferences were scheduled in large cities with mass meetings in the state capitals      Mrs. Catt was to interview the governors in behalf of special sessions      So far, out of a total of seventeen ratifications only five had been given by equal suffrage states, only one of them coming from the original four suffrage states      The suffrage leader had a good deal on her mind to say to the women of these suffrage states      It was their turn to come to the help of the Lord against the mighty

The first meetings were held in Chicago, and from there they went on into the Northwest      In Mitchell, South Dakota, the state League of Women Voters was holding its first convention      It occurred to Mrs Catt while addressing an afternoon session to ask if there was anybody present who had worked with her in the suffrage campaign of 1890?      Thirteen women stood up.      She asked the same question at the evening mass meeting, and twenty-five rose to their feet, among them Mrs John Pyle, chairman of the state League of Women Voters, who had led the victorious referendum campaign for the vote the year before

Wherever the indefatigable leader went, the political atmosphere changed from quiescence to violent activity.      The governors

found themselves suddenly explaining to delegations of very important women why they were so long about getting the Nineteenth Amendment ratified. In Colorado, when the Governor gave economy as an excuse for not calling a special session of the Legislature, the women offered to serve as stenographers, pages and clerical help gratis, to save expense, and the offer was accepted. Oregon had a governor who "needed a deal of persuasion." He was afraid that if he called a special session, the legislature would seize the opportunity to impeach him—a state of mind which was shared by another western governor! Both called the sessions, however, and lasted through them. Idaho was a hard nut to crack, owing to Senator Borah's opposition, but cracked it was. The women had not forgotten that Mrs. Catt traversed the state from end to end in 1896, helping them get the vote, and as if to celebrate Susan B. Anthony's birthday the Governor promised to call a special session in February. In Salt Lake, Mrs. Catt spoke to four thousand people in the Mormon Tabernacle, and at a general assembly in the State University. In Sacramento, she was given a luncheon by friendly Governor and Mrs. Stephens, who were also present at many social functions for the visitors. The ratification envoys finished their mission at Albuquerque, where Governor Larrazola and a group of politicians at an all-night conference concluded to call a special session in February. As a result of the six-weeks tour, the tired leader could now count on special sessions in every one of the procrastinating western states.

But there were plenty of other anxieties plaguing her while she was on this arduous mission. The International Woman Suffrage Alliance was getting ready for its first congress since the war, and there was much argument in Europe as to where it should be held and who should be invited to come to it. Cables and letters pursued her all over the West, and the following excerpts from hasty notes sent back to her secretary in New York show her effort to keep her enterprises going on even keel.

Denver, November 15. We are getting along pretty well, are about to finish our sixth state, and are leaving behind us something which will live and flourish, I think. We lose Mrs. Costigan here, and she certainly is a wonderful woman. I am glad the vote [on place for the next congress

of the Alliance] is going for Spain. I wish you would write Miss Macmillan and tell her she should immediately arrange dates with Spain, so the Call can be issued. I would like the information by December 15 if possible. I do not see how I can pull off all that is expected of me before May. You better pray for me! We have been through a blizzard and are down to zero.

Thanksgiving Day, Los Angeles. What do you say to an hour's speech in the morning, a speech at lunch, a speech at dinner, and a *long* speech in the evening?

December 1. Your letter enclosing various comments on international things to be done has been read with interest and speedily forgotten! Bring the originals of these to my attention when I get back. Inquire at the Berlitz School in reference to teachers of Spanish. Get rates for evening instruction. Got to learn Spanish somehow, so can order my dinner!

Anxiety about the Alliance, however, was suddenly eclipsed by a more immediate complication. The antisuffrage forces had lined up with the wet interests in a bold attempt to nullify ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment by invoking the initiative and referendum laws in those states which had them. While the suffrage leader was touring the West, a popular referendum on the prohibition ratification was held in Ohio, and the ratification was "recalled" by a dubious majority of 500 votes! The Supreme Court of Ohio having declared the referendum constitutional, a petition for a referendum on the suffrage ratification was immediately started.

Mrs. Catt was expecting some such move to obstruct their amendment in the courts, and had retained former Supreme Court Justice Charles Evans Hughes as counsel for the national suffrage association. In the fall of 1919, the question whether or not state Initiative and Referendum Laws applied to ratification of Federal amendments was in confusion worse confounded. Two state supreme courts had decided that they were applicable, two had decided that they were not, and six were trying to make up their minds! In the meantime, several test cases had been carried up to the United States Supreme Court and were pending there. Among the briefs filed with the Federal Supreme Court was one submitted by an Ohio attorney named Hawke, challenging the Ohio recall of the prohibition amendment,

and attacking the petition for a similar referendum on the suffrage amendment. The Court chose the Hawke case as the one on which to hand down its opinion that "the Federal Constitution, and not the constitutions of the several states, controls the method by which the United States Constitution may be amended." It may seem absurd to the non-legalistic mind that anything so self-evident should have had to be stated by the highest court in the land, but the relief which the opinion brought to the suffrage workers was indescribable. From now on they were assured that when they got thirty-six states to ratify, the amendment would stay ratified instead of being subject to interminable recall referenda.

The centenary of Susan B. Anthony's birth would have been a fitting date on which to celebrate the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, and with that in mind the Chicago suffragists invited the national suffrage association to hold what they fondly hoped would be its Victory Convention in Chicago, during the week of February 15, 1920. Mrs. Catt built the program around three important events marked by the centenary—ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, plainly in sight at least; the final convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, the first delegate convention of the League of Women Voters. The activities of the old organization were to be wound up, and the program of the new submitted and adopted.

Outstanding workers for the vote were to be decorated and placed on a Roll of Honor before being put on the shelf, and their leader wrote personal invitations to them in every state, urging them to come. She was not one to forget the older generation, and among the first to be invited was her fellow campaigner back in the horse and buggy days in Kansas and Colorado and Idaho, Laura Johns. Mrs. Johns was now living in California, and had gone to a meeting in Los Angeles at which Mrs. Catt spoke in course of her recent ratification tour.

Your letter made the years turn backward, [wrote Laura Johns in reply to Mrs. Catt's invitation.] Isn't it tragical that I cannot be present to see the





those benefitted. The reports of the suffrage officers revealed the magnitude of the activities of the final period of the movement. They were conscious of their place in history. Mrs. Helen Gardener announced that the Smithsonian Institution had accepted a collection of historic suffrage relics to be on display as a permanent exhibit. Mrs. Catt read the names on the Roll of Honor with citations of distinguished services and presented the certificates of award. As she reached the end of the list, Harriet Taylor Upton laid a restraining hand on her arm, and in a brief speech presented to their leader as a token of honor and affection from the national suffrage association a magnificent star sapphire brooch. After the cheers had subsided, Mrs. Catt's voice, which had been so sonorous as she read the citations of the heroes and saints of their cause, of a sudden failed her when she tried to respond to her own. Mrs. Upton, seeing her predicament, with her hand still on her friend's arm swung round to face the audience. "This is the first time in my life I ever was able to do something that Carrie Chapman Catt couldn't!" she began, and went on to make a response for the incapacitated leader which brought down the house.

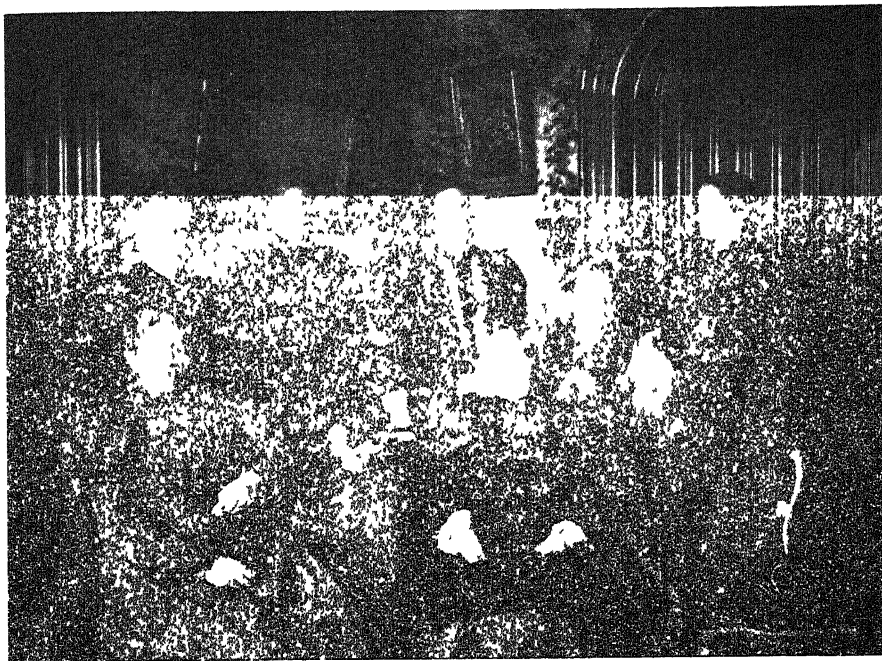
But the story which immortalized the sapphire brooch was told by Mrs. Cotnam of Arkansas. It was thought by the suffrage leaders of a certain Western region that there was no better way to make Mrs. Catt's name a household word than to let the school children have a part in subscribing to the victory brooch. Permission was obtained from the school authorities, and on a certain day the teachers presented the subject to the children, explaining what Mrs. Catt had done for the whole nation, and that in grateful appreciation a memorial was to be presented to her at a great convention in Chicago. Each child who wanted to have a part in this praiseworthy enterprise might bring a penny contribution to school the next day. One of the children, as he was about to depart for school the following morning, bethought him of his privilege and told his mother he had to take a penny to his teacher. The mother naturally wanted to know what for, and drew from her son the surprising information that the children of the state were going to build in Chicago a monu-

ment to Charlie Chaplin's cat! The story was funny enough, but Mrs Catt gilded the lily when she called out, "*Who is Charlie Chaplin?*"

Although this convention was considered to be the windup of the national suffrage association, there was no death-bed air about it, for the delegates were all enrolled in the successor organization, the League of Women Voters, and their Committee on the High Cost of Living had spent the past year assembling data on monopolistic practices in the meat-packing industry. The chairman of the Committee, Mrs Edward Costigan of Colorado, felt she had a heaven-sent opportunity to make public her findings about the packers in their own City of Chicago, and she did not pull any of her punches. After she was through, Florence Kelley, veteran firebrand of the Consumers League which had been associated in the investigation, made a strong speech in corroboration, adding items of her own, and there was considerable plain speaking by the floor!

Seated in the audience was the wife of one of the packers who a night or two before had given a grand dinner for notables attending the two conventions. Mrs Catt could not attend the dinner, but in declining had expressed a wish to visit the stockyards after the meetings were over. The packer's wife was so daunted by the onslaughts to which she had been a listener, that she wrote to inquire if Mrs Catt still desired to visit the stockyards? Mrs Catt did and the packer's wife accordingly took her over to the great plant where she met several magnates of the industry. The ladies were entertained at luncheon in the plant, and Mrs Catt described the steak which was served as something tasted but once in a lifetime. The nearest her hosts got to mentioning the hostility displayed in the League convention to the packing industry was when one of them inquired if Mrs. Catt knew Florence Kelley. She said she did, and told him as much as time permitted about Mrs Kelley's extraordinary career.

There was considerable discussion in the League convention about the attitude members should take toward political parties. Neither of the dominant parties had given votes for women any support till



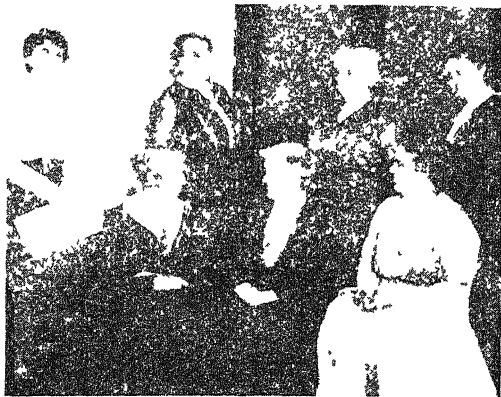
OFFICERS OF THE NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE  
ASSOCIATION, 1897

*Left to Right*—Carrie Chapman Catt (seated), Anna Howard Shaw, Laura Clay, Harriet  
Taylor Upton, Susan B. Anthony, Rachel Foster Avery, Alice Stone Blackwell



OFFICERS OF THE NATIONAL AMERICAN  
WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION  
Chicago, June 1916

*Left to Right*—Mrs. Henry Rogers, Mrs. Walter  
McNabb Miller, Helen Patterson, Mrs. James  
Morrisson, and Mrs. Catt



*Underwood & Underwood, N Y*

THE LESLIE COMMISSION, 1917

*Left to Right*—Mrs. Jean Norris, Alice Stone Blackwell  
Harriet Taylor Upton, Mrs. Catt, Mary Garrett  
Hay (proxy), Mrs. Raymond Robins  
Gratia Goller



MRS FRANK LESLIE

Who left the bulk of her fortune for  
the Suffrage cause



*International Film Service, Chicago*

THE CHICAGO PARADE, JUNE 1916

Chicago's famous "Beauty Squad" as mounted guard of honor

it had grown too strong to be ignored, and many suffragists were for staying out of the parties permanently as independent voters. When Mrs. Catt was appealed to for her opinion, she replied:

For sixty years we have been appealing to the political parties to give us the vote. I do not think we have won the vote in a single state where one or both parties have not given their consent—so powerful are they. Well then, is it our intention to remain on the outside of those parties as we have been for sixty years? Are we going to petition them as we always have done? The only way to get things done is to get them done on the inside of the political party.

The next battle is going to be inside the parties, and we are not going to stay outside and let all the reactionaries have their way on the inside! Within every party there is a struggle between progressive and reactionary elements. Candidates are a compromise between these extremes. You will be disillusioned, you will find yourselves in a political penumbra where most of the men are. They will be glad to see you, you will be flattered. But if you stay long enough, you will discover a little denser thing which is the umbra of the political party—the people who are picking the candidates, doing the real work that you and the men sanction at the polls. You won't be welcome, but there is the place to go. You will see the real thing in the center with the door locked tight. You will have a long hard fight before you get inside—but you must move right up to the center.

There are two kinds of partisanship, one kind has led the world onward, the other kind blinds the sight and paralyzes the judgment. In the League of Women Voters we have an anomaly, we are going to be a semi-political body. We want political things, we want legislation, we are going to educate for citizenship. In that body we have got to be non-partisan and all-partisan. Democrats from Alabama and Republicans from New Hampshire must work for the same things. You must convert your respective parties to have confidence in you and confidence in the League. I warn you that there is about one man in twenty-five who will be big enough to understand that a Democrat can work with a Republican in a non-partisan body, and be loyal to their respective parties!

At the same time she spoke these words, she declined to join a party herself and never altered that position!

Its first convention shows the League starting out in the middle of the road as a progressive-liberal organization, a character consistently maintained to the present time. It declared against child labor, compulsory military training, monopolistic profiteering in

necessities of life, it advocated protective legislation for women in industry, a vigorous campaign for education in politics and good citizenship, more and better schools for the nation's children, maternal and infancy benefits for the underprivileged, and American entry into the League of Nations. The program seems so unexceptionable today that it is difficult to see why anybody could get alarmed about it, but plenty of people did. It was several years before the old parties could see the well meaning ladies in any other light than red.

The close of the Chicago convention left the National American Woman Suffrage Association still in existence but with its successor organization fully established. As one press correspondent said of the proceedings:

The proof of a good workman is the way he leaves his job for another man to take up. Mrs. Catt had a great organization under her hand, and she knew that with the passing of the amendment for woman suffrage, her day as an organizer was over. She could have scrapped the organization, or she could have left it in such a welter of cross purposes that no leader could have directed it. What she did was to change it to meet the new conditions, and see to it that women capable of guiding it in those new conditions were put at the head with plenty of power and chance for initiative. From being a fighting machine to get one law over the top, it was reorganized from the ground up as an educative machine to get many laws over the top.

Mrs. Catt opposed keeping any of the officers of the old suffrage association on the League board. She sought younger women with a fresh approach to affairs. Maud Wood Park became chairman of the League, Mrs. George Gellhorn of St. Louis, vice chairman, Mrs. Richard E. Edwards of Indiana, treasurer, Mrs. Pattie Ruffner Jacobs of Georgia, secretary. Seven regional directors were chosen, young women who had shown vigor and initiative in the last years of the campaign.

After the conventions were over, many of the delegates stayed in Chicago to attend a two-weeks School for Political Education which Mrs. Catt had organized and was directing, and for which she had secured Chicago University professors as lecturers. The excellent

syllabus of courses given at the school was published serially in *The Woman Citizen*, and later in textbook form it became a best seller. The women in all parts of the country who had fought for the vote were genuinely concerned to bring something beside numbers into the electorate

During the month of February while these things were going on in Chicago, six additional ratifications of the amendment were given. One of these was provided by Oklahoma and it cost the life of the devoted woman who was secretary of the women's ratification committee—Miss Aloysius Larch-Miller. A political convention was to be addressed by one of the leading politicians of the state who was opposing a special session of the legislature for ratification. Miss Larch-Miller was down with influenza, but disregarding the orders of her physician she went to the convention and made a speech for ratification which carried the delegates with her. Two days later, she was dead.

Thirty-three states had now ratified, only three more were required but the struggle over these was intensified. There was a tie in the West Virginia Senate which was held until Senator Bloch could be rushed across the country from California to cast the deciding vote for the thirty-fourth ratification on March 10. In the effort to persuade Governor Holcomb to call the Connecticut Legislature in special session, Mrs. Catt rounded up her best speakers, one from each of the forty-eight states, and at the invitation of the Connecticut suffragists and their energetic leader, Katherine Ludington, blanketed the state with mass meetings from end to end! In launching this crusade, she was struck by the number of brilliant orators from the South—Mrs. Breckinridge of Kentucky, Mrs. Cotnam of Arkansas, Mrs. Jacobs of Alabama, Mrs. Guilford Dudley and Mrs. George Fort Milton of Tennessee, Miss Gellhorn of Missouri. She had great hopes of Connecticut, for the legislature had been polled and was known to be favorable, as was also public opinion. But Governor Holcomb was not favorable and he steadfastly refused to call the legislature.

Governor Clement of Vermont similarly refused to convene the legislature of that state. Then there was great excitement when news was flashed from the Pacific coast that Washington had added the thirty-fifth ratification on March 22. Only one more state to go!

Mrs. Catt went to Richmond and spoke with the Virginia suffragists at a hearing before the legislature, in an attempt to get the final ratification there. As she made her appeal to the state pride and political good sense of the legislators, every man in the place cheered her lustily—but they were cheering the magnificent courage and eloquence of a great leader, not the Federal amendment. They voted it down, two to one. The last legislature before which she spoke for ratification was called in March in the State of Delaware by Governor Townsend who was an advocate of ratification. The political situation was bad, the legislature met and wrangled for two months, the Senate voted for ratification, the House voted not to vote on the question!

Spring passed with ratification facing its last obstacle. It was the belief that the thirty-sixth ratification might be obtained from any one of three states—Connecticut, Vermont or Tennessee—if the governors could be induced to call special sessions. When the Supreme Court rendered its opinion that the Federal Constitution took precedence over state constitutions in prescribing the method of ratifying Federal amendments, the ground was cut from under the alleged objection of Governor Roberts to calling a special session of the Tennessee Legislature, and he was immediately subjected to pressure to take action.

At this critical juncture, Mrs. Catt was obliged to be absent from the country in attendance at the important postwar congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in Geneva. On her return to New York late in June, she was met at the dock by a delegation of suffragists filled with news. Both parties at their national conventions had urged ratification. When Carter Glass at the Democratic convention had finished reading the platform, which included all the planks asked for by the women, he leaned over the desk and remarked, "And if there is anything else the women want, we are for



it!" But the biggest piece of news was that in response to a personal appeal from President Wilson, Governor Roberts of Tennessee had called a special session of the Legislature to meet in August to act on ratification. The suffragists were given a last chance to get their amendment through in time for women to cast a nation-wide vote for President in the fall election.

A month was to elapse before the Tennessee Legislature met, but it was scant time in which to arouse political support throughout the state. Without a chance to recover from the strain of the Geneva congress, Mrs. Catt plunged into the last and toughest battle of her suffrage career. Her first move was to send Marjorie Shuler to Tennessee to report on the prospects. The report came promptly that if Tennessee was to be the thirty-sixth state to ratify, the suffrage general would have to come there and stay till it was done! Mrs. Catt started at once with nothing but a handbag, thinking that Miss Shuler was unduly apprehensive, and for the next six weeks she kept sending back to New York for fresh clothes! On arriving in Nashville, she took up her abode in the Hermitage Hotel where she was to pass her final purgatorial ordeal.

Tennessee had given women the presidential and municipal suffrage the preceding year, and the same legislature would act on ratification. Governor Roberts, who was up for reelection in the fall, had a violent fight within the Democratic party on his hands. The split ran right through the Tennessee suffrage forces, while a similar rift in the numerically smaller Republican party completed the suffrage chaos. Although the Supreme Court had ruled that the United States Constitution took precedence of a state constitution when the two conflicted, the Tennessee mind was inclined to carry out its own state charter, nevertheless, which said that, after the submission of a Federal amendment, a new legislature must be elected before voting on ratification. The Presidential candidates, Harding and Cox, knowing that women in Tennessee already could vote for President, when appealed to to urge ratification in public statements, replied carefully that the Tennessee conscience must be its own guide in the matter!

Mrs Catt's first concern was to unite the disrupted Tennessee suffragists in support of ratification above everything else. Their officers were devoted feminists and several of them were her personal friends. Mrs Guilford Dudley was a vice president and Miss Della Dortch a director in the National League of Women Voters, while Mrs George Fort Milton and other prominent women had built up a strong state league, with Mrs John Kenny as state chairman of the ratification committee. Governor Roberts, for political reasons, had appointed a ratification committee all his own, with Mrs Leslie Warner as chairman. Mrs Catt had great admiration for the brilliant qualities of all these women and she made a confident appeal to their patriotism to rally for united advance upon the last stand of the obstructors. She pictured eloquently the national prominence of Tennessee, thrust up by fate to carry the final assault, she bore down so heavily upon the desirability of having none but Tennessee women active in the campaign, that the imagination of the fiery Southerners was kindled. They sank their differences, rallied around her, accepted her strategy, and undertook the lobbying at the capitol as a united front. Fortunately a Tennessee woman, Miss Charl Williams, was vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee. Deputations to legislators and men prominent in political affairs were mobilized and ratification meetings were advertised.

Mrs. Catt and Mrs Milton made a speaking tour of the larger cities of the state. It was July of one of the hottest summers on record, Tennessee is one of the hottest states, and the physical effort and mental strain of this trip told heavily on the older leader. But she had two ideas to put across to the public: first, that the alleged conflict between the state and national constitutions had been wiped out by the Supreme Court decision, second, that the women of Tennessee were fighting for their own state and the women of the whole nation against a combination of lobbies which for years had infested state politics, the whiskey lobby, the manufacturers' lobby, the railroad lobby. In a little village called Niota, in McMinn County, in the mountains of east Tennessee, an elderly woman read the press reports of Mrs Catt's speeches attentively. She had a son recently

elected to the lower house of the legislature, and she made him promise that, when he went to the special session, if his vote were needed for ratification he would give it. The mother's name was Mrs. J. L. Burn and her son's name was Harry. Both names should be remembered.

But the suffrage leader's speaking tour was far more than a platform expedition. Thirty years of campaigning were ending in Tennessee, in a suffrage free-for-all such as she never had experienced. There was a whispering campaign against the governor, the Democratic factions accused each other of dickerings with the Republicans, and, although they were fighting over it, the Nineteenth Amendment was the last thing the politicians were really concerned about! Ratification was an insignificant pawn in the local chess game. In each town where she spoke, Mrs. Catt held conferences with suffrage leaders of the district, going over the poll of the local legislators and sending deputations to visit them. By the time she returned to Nashville her assurance of a favorable outcome of the approaching special session was considerably shaken. The Tennessee women, however, were out all over the state on the trail of their Solons.

Meantime, the Democratic and Republican National Committees met in Columbus, Ohio, and were exhorted by their respective vice chairmen, Miss Charl Williams and Harriet Taylor Upton, to bestir themselves in Tennessee. Esther Ogden headed a deputation of prominent Democratic women to the Democratic meeting, and got from Presidential candidate Cox endorsement of ratification by Tennessee in a personal message to Mrs. Catt. Miss Ogden brought the endorsement to Nashville and spent the day in conference with her chief. As she was leaving that evening for her train, she looked back at the weary leader. Mrs. Catt was sitting in an uncomfortable chair with a palm leaf fan in her hand directly under a glaring electric light in a temperature like that of the boiler room of a laundry. Miss Ogden was struck by the utter forlornness of the scene and came back impulsively, tears filling her eyes. "I can't bear to leave you like this!" she exclaimed. Instantly Mrs. Catt sat up straight and retorted in a good strong voice, "Esther Ogden, don't you go to

making me feel sorry for myself!" and with her fan she waved her troubled visitor urgently to the door

The day before the legislature convened, Harriet Taylor Upton arrived to represent the Republican National Committee and from that moment the Upton shriek of laughter was heard amid the encircling gloom. And never was Homeric mirth more needed to ease a painful situation, for downstairs in the Hermitage Hotel lobby, side by side with antisuffrage ladies bedecked with red roses and men representing various interests opposed to ratification, were Laura Clay and Kate Gordon, old fellow members of the national suffrage board, hard at work lobbying against ratification! When they inadvertently met in the hotel dining room or halls all four women pretended not to see each other. Miss Clay and Miss Gordon were opposing the amendment on states rights grounds and probably they were disgusted by the methods of their fellow laborers, for these last were distributing handbills attacking the character of the suffrage leaders, appealing to negrophobia and human cussedness in general.<sup>34</sup>

On Monday, August 9, the legislature convened. Up to this point, Seth Walker, Speaker of the House, had been a supporter of ratification and an active member of the ratification committee. But now, instead of introducing the resolution in the lower house as he had promised, he came out as leader of the opposition! This was an utterly unexpected blow to the ratificationists, but it was nothing to what was to come. As had been expected the Senate ratified soon after assembling by an overwhelming majority. The real struggle was to come in the House. Many of the House members put up at the Hermitage Hotel, and as soon as they arrived they were observed to gravitate to a mysterious room on the eighth floor. When they

<sup>34</sup> The following headings indicate the character of the handbills: "Character of Robert E. Lee Defamed—Reject the Suffrage Amendment!" "Mrs. Catt's Defamation of Her Country!" "Mrs. Catt and Suffrage Leaders Repudiate the Bible!" "The Woman's Bible, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Editor, Carrie Chapman Catt, President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, One of the Revising Committee!" "Beware, Men of the South, Heed Not the Song of the Suffrage Siren!" "Woman Suffrage Means a Reopening of the Negro Suffrage Question, Loss of State Rights, and Another Period of Reconstruction Horrors Which Will Introduce a Set of Female Carpet-baggers as Bad as Their Male Prototypes of the Sixties!" There were many more broadsides of similar tenor.

reappeared, they were noticeably unsteady on their legs' In her dramatic chapter on Tennessee in *Woman Suffrage and Politics*, Mrs Catt wrote

Tennessee had been a prohibition state before the Eighteenth Amendment was submitted, and the state had also ratified that amendment Why was not the law enforced, asked the women? "Now see here," was the answer, "in Tennessee whiskey and legislation go hand in hand, especially when controversial questions are urged" Denial of this traditional license when a great issue was at stake would be resented as an interference with established custom by suffragists and anti-suffragists "This is the Tennessee way" Suffragists were plunged into helpless despair Hour by hour men and women who went to the different hotels of the city to talk with the legislators came back to the Hermitage headquarters to report, and every report told the same story—the legislature was drunk!

In agony of soul suffragists went to bed in the early morning, but not to sleep The members of the Tennessee Legislature, however, largely slept themselves sober, and hope revived

The flow of liquor continued unabated throughout the week and the following week for all who would partake After a while a group of legislators who were friendly to ratification came to call on Mrs Catt, and told her that it would be a great help to them if they could have a private conference room in which to meet wavering—mentally—legislators in order to keep them loyal to their pledge to support ratification She asked how much it would cost and they said the hotel was so crowded that the only room left would cost \$50 She thought the price was pretty high but as this was no time to haggle gave them what they asked for When she told Mrs. Upton, the latter promptly gave it as her opinion that, instead of hiring a hall, the gentlemen were going to buy \$50 worth of whiskey "to treat our side with, and if they are as pegged out as I am, I hope it's good stuff!"

A woman newspaper correspondent overheard the conversation and as a joke went out and procured a bottle of moonshine to present to Mrs Upton When she returned with it and knocked at Mrs Upton's door, she found the latter in conference with a delegation of Republican legislators, which was hardly a time to bestow her gift.

She backed away and tried Mrs Catt's sitting room next, intending to leave her innocent looking parcel there for Mrs Upton. Another legislative conference was going on there, however. Determined to get rid of her burden, she tiptoed into Mrs Catt's bedroom and stuck it under a pillow, intending to explain later. When her callers departed, Mrs Catt threw herself down on her bed for a few minutes rest and, feeling a hard object under her pillow, drew it forth and unwrapped it. Her astonishment was quickly succeeded by the thought that she was the victim of a frame-up, something quite in line with the persistent attempts to smear her reputation. Her first impulse was to get rid of the bottle, but this was not so easy. If she emptied its contents down the drain, the aroma would pervade her apartment and the hall outside, while the bottle would still remain to be disposed of—like the corpse in a detective story. She finally locked it up in her suitcase, although with the gloomy foreboding that this was exactly what the enemy had counted on her doing, and that her luggage would be ransacked as soon as she left the room! She was somewhat relieved when Mrs Upton presently arrived, having been apprised of her gift by the donor and being filled with merriment thereby, but the thing continued to prey on Mrs Catt's mind. When a friend invited the two to go for a ride, they took the bottle along and left it far out in the country, hidden in a stone wall covered with poison ivy!

Sixty-two members of the lower house of the legislature, before coming to Nashville, had given written pledges to vote for ratification, but as soon as they reached the city one after another began to go over to the other side and soon the house was evenly divided. This process was not at all hindered by a long, verbose letter from Harding which was circulated among the Republicans and in which the following passage occurred:

I should be very unfair to you and should very much misrepresent my own convictions if I urged you to vote for ratification when you hold to a very conscientious belief that there is a constitutional inhibition which prevents your doing so until after an election has been held. I do not want you to have any doubt about my belief in the desirability of completing the

ratification, but I am just as earnest about expressing myself in favor of fidelity to conscience in the performance of a public service

This pious statement opened a door of retreat for Republican legislators who might be looking for it

Tennessee ratificationists, both men and women, now systematically trailed their pledged legislators, taking them to movies, on rides, to social functions so that the opposition should not get at them. If a legislator walked through the lobby with a bag in his hand, they inquired where he was going. They picketed the railway stations day and night so that nobody could leave town without their knowledge, and they kept taking polls to see that the pledges were holding. Their pressure on the opposition was equally unrelenting. Two votes must be reclaimed before the House went into decisive session or their cause was lost in Tennessee. In the second week of the session the legislature began to show signs of cracking under the strain to which they were subjected by both sides. Mrs. Catt, in the midst of the melee behind the scenes in the Hermitage Hotel, wrote a letter describing the situation.<sup>35</sup>

We are up to our last half of a state. With all the political pressure [at our command] the rest ought to be easy, but the opposition of every sort is here fighting desperately with no scruple. I've been here a month. It is hot, muggy, nasty, and this last battle is desperate. Even if we win, we who have been here will never remember it with anything but a shudder!

Meantime, Mrs. J. L. Burn back in Niota, McMinn County, had been scanning the papers to see how things were going for ratification in Nashville, and she was not pleased with the delay nor with the part her son was playing, and she wrote:

Dear Son Hurrah and vote for suffrage! Don't keep them in doubt. I notice some of the speeches against. They were bitter. I have been watching to see how you stood, but have not noticed anything yet. Don't forget to be a good boy and help Mrs. Catt put "rat" in ratification. Your Mother

On Wednesday of the second week of the session, the House convened with the determination to vote without further delay. There was a last, turgid debate, at the close of which Speaker Walker shouted in melodramatic manner, "The hour has come. The battle

<sup>35</sup> C. C. Catt to M. G. Peck, Nashville, August 15, 1920

has been fought and won!" and moved to table the ratification resolution. As the roll was called, it was punctuated frequently with short bursts of applause and mutterings of anger. The suspense increased painfully as the voting went on down the alphabetical list of members. Suddenly a wild outcry shook the Capitol. Banks Turner had dropped off the fence on the suffrage side! There were ninety-six members present, and this made the vote a tie, 48 to 48. Seth Walker, unwilling to believe his ears, demanded a second roll call and left the Speaker's chair to throw his arm around Turner's shoulders and pour frenzied entreaties into his ear. When his name was reached on the second roll call, Turner for an agonizing moment delayed to answer, then he stood up, shook off Walker's arm and shouted, "NO!" and the vote to table still stood at a tie. The opposition had not been able to table the resolution, and now the vote must be taken on ratification itself.

The suffragists had to have one more vote for a majority and it was with sinking hearts that they waited for the next roll call. Then came the prodigious moment. "Harry Burn," called the clerk in his monotonous voice for the third time that day, and for the third time Harry called back, "Aye!" But this time the whole House broke into an uproar that was heard outside for blocks around, for young Harry was keeping his promise to his mother and giving the Nineteenth Amendment the one vote necessary to put it into the Federal Constitution.

There was one more drop of sweetness poured into the suffrage cup, by Speaker Walker himself, ironically enough. Although forty-nine was a majority of the ninety-six members present, Tennessee was accustomed to consider fifty, a majority of the ninety-nine elected members, as the "constitutional" majority, and this was forthcoming when Walker, in order to move for reconsideration, changed his vote on ratification from no to aye! "Thus by a freak of politics, the last vote needed by the Tennessee standard to enfranchise the women of a great nation was cast by a man who was clearly staking heavily to defeat it!"<sup>36</sup>

<sup>36</sup> *Woman Suffrage and Politics*, Catt and Shuler, p. 449



But the Tennessee show was not over yet. The printed rules of the House gave Walker three days in which to call for reconsideration of the vote, and during this period frantic efforts were made to detach votes from the suffrage majority. Senator McKellar unearthed an attempt to bribe a wavering suffrage member with a political job under the Excise Commissioner. A telegram from the President sent the Commissioner scurrying out of town and confirmed the weak brother's loyalty to ratification. The principal assault was made on Harry Burn as a last-minute deserter. He was accused of accepting a bribe and threatened with exposure unless he promised to absent himself from the House when the vote on reconsideration was taken. Burn made a public statement in the House defying his accusers and defending his vote, in the course of which he said

I changed my vote in favor of ratification, first, because I believe in full suffrage as a right, second, I believe we had a moral and legal right to ratify, third, I knew that a mother's advice is always safest for her boy to follow, and my mother wanted me to vote for ratification, fourth, I appreciated the fact that an opportunity such as seldom comes to a mortal man to free seventeen million women from political slavery was mine, fifth, I desired that my party in both state and nation might say that it was a Republican from the mountains of East Tennessee, the purest Anglo-Saxon section in the world, who made national woman suffrage possible at this date, not for personal glory but for the glory of his party

Soon after this statement a telegram to Mrs. George Fort Milton from the young man's mother showed that the anti's had tried to get her to repudiate her letter urging Harry to "Hurrah and vote for suffrage." The telegram read

Woman was here today, claims to be wife of Governor of Louisiana and secured an interview with me and tried by every means to get me to refute and say that the letter I sent to my son was false. The letter is authentic and was written by me and you can refute any statement that any party claims to have received from me. Any statement claiming to be from me is false. I stand squarely behind suffrage and request my son to stick to suffrage until the end. This woman was very insulting to me in my home and I had a hard time to get her out of my home.

Mrs. J. L. Burn

The House met Thursday and Friday and waited for Walker to call for reconsideration, but he could not get the two votes he needed. His option expired at midnight, Friday. After that, the vote to reconsider could be called for by any member on the victorious suffrage side and voted down. On Saturday morning, the fifty members of the majority repaired to the Capitol intending doing that very thing. They were astonished to find only nine of their opponents present. Thirty-eight others had made a hegira across the state line into Alabama in the middle of the night! The bright idea of the absconders was to prevent a quorum of the legislature from assembling and thus to delay action on the motion to reconsider until death or some other event should cut down the majority to a point where it could be outvoted. One of the minor touches to this bizarre picture was contributed by the chaplain when, in opening the Saturday session with prayer, he entreated "God's richest blessing on our absent ones!"

The suffrage majority went right ahead with their program and the ratification certificate was sent to the Governor, whereupon the anti's enjoined him from signing or forwarding the document to Washington. It was not until the following Tuesday that the Governor signed it and sent it off by registered mail. It was received in Washington at the office of the Secretary of State at 4 A.M. on Thursday, August 26, and was at once referred to the Solicitor General, who had been waiting all night for it, to certify its correctness. In view of the threat of an injunction against the proclamation of the amendment, he was taking no chances, and as soon as he had certified it he returned it to the State Department; and Secretary Bainbridge Colby at eight o'clock that morning, with nobody but his secretary present to see him do it, signed the Proclamation of the Woman Suffrage Amendment to the Federal Constitution. The reason for all this early rising was Mrs. Catt's determination to forestall any more legal delays. The Proclamation was not essential, but it was public notice that the Tennessee ratification had been received, examined, accepted and formally recorded as the final step in adopting the Nineteenth Amendment.

Ratification brought no respite to the victorious suffrage leader, who must take official part in the jubilee of triumph that now swept the country from coast to coast. She issued a resounding proclamation of victory, lauding the "inviolable integrity of the Tennessee Legislature," regretting that the anti's did not "share our joy," but prophesying nevertheless that "tomorrow we shall work together for the good of this great and glorious country." One may be pardoned for a suspicion that Mrs. Catt penned her manifesto with her tongue in her cheek!

Accompanied by Mrs. Upton and Charl Williams, vice chairmen of the Republican and Democratic National Committees, and Marjorie Shuler, who had been in Tennessee throughout the legislative campaign, she went first to Chattanooga for a celebration, then started for Washington. The party reached the capital the same morning the Tennessee certificate arrived, and went directly to Suffrage House. The first thing Mrs. Catt did was to telephone Secretary of State Colby to ask if the Tennessee ratification certificate had been received. After a moment, Mrs. Catt turned to Mrs. Upton and Mrs. Park who were with her in the room and said, "The Secretary has just signed the Proclamation of the Amendment. He wants us to come to the State Department to see it." Then she hung up the receiver and leaned against the wall, and the three looked at one another in silence. It was finished! Mrs. Park and Helen Gardener went with Mrs. Catt to the office of the Secretary of State, where Mr. Colby read the Proclamation to them and offered hearty congratulations on their victory in the seventy-two-year long crusade.

Mrs. Catt then went with Mrs. Gardener to pay her respects to President Wilson, who received them sitting in an easy chair with a shawl thrown over his knees, and Mrs. Wilson standing beside him. As the visitors came into the room, he held out his hand with an apology for not rising. Although she had been prepared by Mrs. Gardener, Mrs. Catt was deeply affected by the alteration in the President's appearance since the last time she saw him, and she found it hard to dissemble her emotion. She divined the bitterness in the unyielding man's soul at his physical incapacity to finish his own fight victoriously as she had finished hers. She recalled his

great services to the suffrage cause in the pressure of the war years when he might easily have made excuse, his willingness to do everything she had asked. She contrasted his staunch support during the Tennessee melee with the two-faced attitude of Harding. She realized as she looked at him the shattering effect his break-down would have on the prospect for world security and peace. There was deep feeling in her words as she thanked him for his unwavering support of the Nineteenth Amendment throughout his second administration. Especially she expressed the gratitude of her organization for his personal intervention in the Tennessee campaign, and testified to its efficacy. His face lighted as she spoke, and when Mrs. Gardener added her tribute there was a flash of his old humor as he responded.

Mrs. Catt's face was wet with tears as she descended the stairs to the front entrance. She felt that the best Woodrow Wilson could hope for from that time to the end, was the devoted care he was receiving from his wife. She was silent for a while as they drove away, then said to Mrs. Gardener, "The President may be down and out now, but history will vindicate him."

That evening there was a mass meeting at Poli's Theater at which she made the principal address. Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby brought a message from the President which read:

I deem it one of the greatest honors of my life that this great event, so stoutly fought for, for so many years, should have occurred during the period of my administration. Please tell my fellow citizens that nothing has given me more pleasure than the privilege of doing what I could to hasten the day when the womanhood of the nation would be recognized on the equal footing it deserves.

Next morning, accompanied by Mrs. Upton, Charl Williams and Marjorie Shuler, Mrs. Catt started for New York. At the station in Philadelphia, a crowd of Pennsylvania suffragists was waiting to cheer them as they passed through, and when their train rolled into the Pennsylvania Station at New York, a sea of faces and the crash of band music filled the great place. The tune of "Hail, the conquering hero comes!" is pretty tame, but there is a

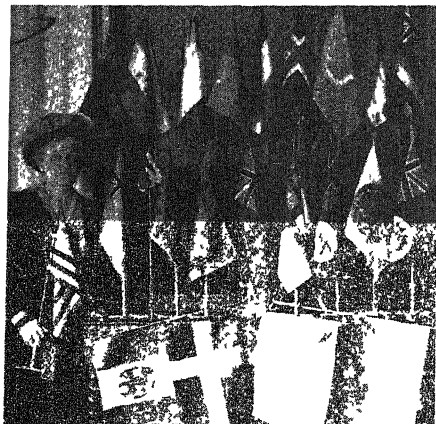


Left: Vice President Thomas B. Marshall signing the suffrage resolution which I just passed the Senate by a 64-25 vote. At his right stands Maud Wood Par. At his left Helen Gardner. As the bill had passed the House it now goes to the June 5th 1919.

Right: - Speaker Gillette signing the Suffrage Amendment, June 4th 1919, with gold pen "the Victory Pen", now in Smithsonian.



SIGNING OF THE SUFFRAGE RESOLUTION IN CONGRESS, 1919



*C T Chapman, Kensington, Md*

RS CATT AT LAST SENATE HEARING, 1918



MRS CATT AND MISS HAY CASTING THEIR  
FIRST VOTES FOR PRESIDENT, 1918



ARRIVAL IN NEW YORK AFTER FINAL  
RATIFICATION OF THE SUFFRAGE  
AMENDMENT, 1920

piercing quality in the cry of women in great excitement which it is difficult to listen to calmly, and the white faces of the "conquering heroes" as they issued from the train and met the full force of the hurricane of welcome testified to their emotion. Mary Garrett Hay was first to greet them, next Senator Calder of New York who was waiting with her on the platform, and then they were hurried along to meet Governor Al Smith and a state committee of welcome which had been waiting for their badly delayed train. "Mrs Catt", said the Governor, "I am here on behalf of the people of New York to convey congratulations to you for your great victory for the motherhood of America." Al Smith was one of the first governors to respond to the plea for special sessions—a fact which Mrs Catt gratefully mentioned in her response. Mrs John Blair then presented a huge bouquet of delphinium and yellow chrysanthemum, tied with yellow satin ribbon inscribed, "To Mrs Carrie Chapman Catt from the enfranchised women of the United States." Congratulations came from all sides as the suffragists crowded around, news photographers ground away at their tripods, and the Tennessee victors were conducted to a waiting automobile. The car was surrounded by an escort of honor composed of national suffrage officers and leaders in the Empire State campaigns—Mrs Frederick Edey, color-bearer of many a parade, carrying the banner of the national suffrage association, Mrs Thomas B Wells carrying the Victory Pennant of New York, a third woman carrying the American flag. Many state banners followed, among them one borne by Katherine Ludington, president of the Connecticut association, which carried the caustic device, "Tennessee Men Have Given Freedom to Connecticut Women." On the street where the 71st Regiment Band was waiting, they took their place at the head of a marching column escorted by a detachment of marines—and so, with band playing and flags flying the suffrage leader and her victorious battalions led the last suffrage parade through New York.

There was a celebration at the Astor Hotel immediately following. Harriet Taylor Upton, one of those trustful souls who wait for the Lord to put into their mouths what they shall speak, on this

occasion was inspired to begin her reminiscences of Tennessee as follows

The opponents down there accused me of being an Amazon I didn't know what an Amazon was, except the river, so I looked it up, and I like it! I found that an Amazon is a strong, lithe woman who can put up a winning fight Also—[Here laughter and hand clapping threatened to drown her out and she moved her substantial form to the extreme front of the stage and shouted]—Also, I learned that she is 'THIN'

In Mrs Catt's speech there was a hint of the sadness which ever attends arriving at the end of the road

This is a glorious, a wonderful day For many a year we have marched up the long hill together, you and I Now we will all go our separate ways, holding in our hearts tender memories of our comrades in the great war I have lived to realize the great dream of my life—the enfranchisement of women We are no longer petitioners, we are not wards of the nation but free and equal citizens Let us practice the dignity of a sovereign people Wherever we vote, whatever our party affiliations, let us vote against every man of any party if he does not represent the people We have proved in Tennessee that this is a government of the people, not an empire of corporations Let us do our part to keep it a true and triumphant democracy

In her greeting to the new voters, she wrote. <sup>37</sup>

The vote is the emblem of your equality, women of America, the guaranty of your liberty That vote of yours has cost millions of dollars and the lives of thousands of women Money to carry on this work has been given usually as a sacrifice, and thousands of women have gone without things they wanted and could have had in order that they might help get the vote for you Women have suffered agony of soul which you never can comprehend, that you and your daughters might inherit political freedom *That vote has been costly Prize it!*

The vote is a power, a weapon of offense and defense, a prayer Understand what it means and what it can do for your country Use it intelligently, conscientiously, prayerfully No soldier in the great suffrage army has labored and suffered to get a "place" for you Their motive has been the hope that women would aim higher than their own selfish ambitions, that they would serve the common good

<sup>37</sup> *The Woman Citizen*, September 4, 1920



The vote is won. Seventy-two years the battle for this privilege has been waged, but human affairs with their eternal change move on without pause. Progress is calling to you to make no pause. Act!

Celebrations were held in all parts of the country, but it was Texas which celebrated most effectively. On August 29th, Mrs Catt received this communication from Nonie B Mahoney, prominent suffragist in that state

Suffragists of Texas celebrated ratification yesterday by going to the polls and overwhelmingly defeating Joseph Weldon Bailey for nomination for Governor of Texas. I gave up my summer trip to fight him, and I feel fully repaid. It was a hot campaign!

Before leaving the story of ratification, one last expiring groan from the Tennessee Legislature should be recorded. After a while the "absent ones" came back from Alabama and in a depleted rump-session passed a resolution rescinding ratification! The action was so clearly illegal that Chief Justice Taft commenting on it said:

Thirty-six legislators went out of the state to avoid being brought into the House to make a quorum for a vote on reconsideration. This was a disgraceful and anarchical method of opposing legitimate action. The legislative refugees in Alabama are poor losers. In their desperation they are willing by a scaly trick to involve the country in dangerous uncertainty as to the result of a presidential election. Fortunately they are likely to be entirely blocked in their scheme.

The matter was finally dropped when the Connecticut Legislature, which for months had wished to ratify, at last was called in special session by Governor Holcomb, and to make assurance doubly sure ratified the Nineteenth Amendment three times! After that, debate over the Tennessee ratification lost all relevance.

Released at last, the spent leader fled to her home in the hills of upper Westchester county, seeking peace and a long rest for her ravaged nerves and exhausted body.



PART VI

*Reorganizing the International  
Woman Suffrage Alliance, 1920-1923*



## 1.

### *The Postwar Congress at Geneva, 1920*

The congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance which met in Geneva, Switzerland, in June, 1920, was the most extraordinary in the history of the alliance. Seven years had elapsed since the congress at Budapest, in 1913, when only four countries—Australia, New Zealand, Finland and Norway—and nine of the less populous states in the United States had granted equal rights to women. When the postwar congress of the alliance met in Geneva in 1920, women had been enfranchised in twenty-one countries, to which the United States was added shortly afterward.<sup>38</sup> Servia and Belgium had conferred the municipal suffrage, the League of Nations had endorsed equal suffrage and made women eligible to all positions in the League and the Secretariat. Only the Latin countries in Europe and the western hemisphere had withstood the tide of feminism, while Switzerland, celebrated for a thousand years as the cradle of liberty, at the time when it was to play the host to feminists of the whole world had not given its own women the vote!

It was Mrs. Catt's intention to retire from office at the Geneva Congress, and she had notified the official board of the Alliance to that effect. There could not have been a worse time for her to be called away from home. She was in the last stage of the ratification campaign, with only one lacking of the thirty-six ratifications required for the Nineteenth Amendment. She had had no time to prepare her president's address or to compose her thoughts for the approaching meeting.

She waited till the last possible day, then sailed with the American delegation, which was a strong one, including the wives of two

<sup>38</sup> Austria, East Africa, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Estonia, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, Iceland, Lettonia, Lithuania, Luxemburg, The Netherlands, Poland, Rhodesia, Russia, the United States—in addition to the four countries where women had the vote before the First World War.

United States Senators, Mrs Barkley of Nebraska and Mrs Lewis of Illinois, State Senator Helen Ring Robinson of Colorado, Julia Lathrop of the Children's Bureau, Mrs Desha Breckinridge of Kentucky, and Mrs Stanley McCormick, corresponding secretary of the alliance. President Wilson had appointed Mrs Josephus Daniels, wife of the Secretary of the Navy, to represent the United States Government at the meeting. The voyage over was unusually calm, and Mrs Catt seized the opportunity to write her president's address, buoyed up by the thought that it would be her last.

There had been intimations that all would not be smooth sailing at Geneva. Some time before, the French, Belgian and Italian associations had sent to the official board of the Alliance a demand that if a German delegation came to the congress it should be required as a condition of being seated to disavow the "atrocities" of the German armies of occupation during the war. When the board turned down the demand, saying that if such a motion were adopted it should apply to every delegation whose nationals were in the war, Belgium declined to attend the congress. France and Italy, however, accepted the ruling of the board.

It would be too much to expect that four and a half years of war and hate propaganda could have passed without leaving a scar on the Alliance. The marvel was that no national branch had withdrawn, and that nineteen of the twenty-six societies were sending delegations. The few absences were accounted for: delegates from China, Egypt and Palestine were prevented by difficulties in transportation from arriving in time, the president of the Russian branch was a fugitive from her country, which was in turmoil, the Portuguese and Polish auxiliaries had not been heard from, but, paradoxically, the Polish Government was sending a representative.<sup>1</sup>

As soon as the officers of the Alliance arrived in Geneva, Mrs Catt called them together for an informal tea in her suite at the hotel. She realized that this first reunion after six tragic years would be an ordeal for all of them, and that the success or failure of the congress might depend upon the spirit manifested then. She sent Rosa Manus scurrying around after refreshments enough to

feed an army, hoping that a groaning board would have a good effect on her guests

The English board members were first to arrive Mrs Stanton Coit, Chrystal Macmillan, Mrs Corbett Ashby, and Eleanor Rathbone as a proxy for Mrs Fawcett who was unable to attend the congress, next came Annie Furuhielm of Finland, Mrs Stanley McCormick and Mme Schlumberger of France, last of all, the German delegates appeared, Frau Anna Lindemann and Frau Marie Stritt All of them had aged in appearance since their last meeting in London on the eve of the World War, but the change in Frau Lindemann and Frau Stritt hurt Mrs Catt indescribably They looked thin and white and exhausted As she hastened to meet them, the memory of the food blockade of Germany during the armistice came to mind "This is what we did to them!" she said to herself as she greeted them

She had some misgiving as to Mme Schlumberger's attitude The French leader had backed the demand that the German delegation disavow the "atrocities" She was a granddaughter of Guizot, the historian, and French to the core Between her and the German women flowed a river of blood reaching back to the days when Livy wrote, "The Gauls are separated from the Germans by mountains and mutual dread" But there was something finer than hate in Mme Schlumberger's face as she rose from her chair, crossed the room and stood beside Mrs Catt, her hands outstretched in friendship After that symbolic gesture of appeasement, the ice was broken

Having a fixed idea that the Germans had gone on short rations, Mrs Catt plied them with food till they could eat no more Indeed, the whole roomful seemed to develop an astonishing appetite An hour of business conference followed, after which the guests departed Mrs Catt detained the Germans for a private interview after the others had gone Frau Stritt's face fell as she described living conditions in Dresden "Things could hardly be worse," she said sadly, then she added with determined optimism, "But on the other hand, German women owe their enfranchisement to the war

At least, we got that out of it!" And this same refrain ran all through that incredible congress. Whether the vote had come with bloody revolution or had been thrust upon women unasked, their enfranchisement was ascribed to the war. Twenty governments were sending official representatives to the congress, the Turkish Government sending a woman delegate! The most colorful and popular of the government representatives was the American-born Viscountess Nancy Astor of Great Britain. More than half the members of the congress came from equal suffrage countries. In many of these countries, women were sitting in parliament, Germany heading the list with thirty-nine women in the Reichstag, a hundred and fifty-five in the state legislatures, four thousand in local and municipal councils. To the Americans present there was something unreal in all this—thirty-nine women in the German Reichstag, and only Jeannette Rankin in the United States Congress! The most diverting report was made by the government delegate from the tiny state of Luxemburg. The government of that country not only bestowed the vote on women without consulting them, but passed a law imposing a fine on them if they failed to exercise the privilege!

But the enfranchised countries were not alone in the limelight. For the first time delegates were present from Japan, among them Mrs. Tsune Gauntlett, afterward well known in the world peace movement. India sent a delegation of ten women, led by Sarojini Naidu, poet and patriot who later became the first woman president of the All India Congress. Four new national branches in Greece, Spain, Argentina and Uruguay were received into the Alliance, the last two being the first Latin American countries admitted.

The main business before the congress was to decide upon the future activities of the Alliance. The League of Nations was memorialized to call an annual conference of women to advise with the League concerning the welfare and rights of women.

In her president's address Mrs. Catt pulled together the miscellaneous objectives and hopes of the assembly into a common program. The magnetism of her presence poured over the barriers of race and language without effort. Those who knew no English heard the full voice, gazed upon the splendid presence, and felt the



power and fascination of the spirit behind it. She pointed out the great opportunity of the Alliance as a regenerating and stabilizing force in the postwar world. She urged women to start a campaign to educate their people to assume responsibility in political affairs. She suggested exchange lectureships to promote intellectual contacts. She warned of obstacles to the continued advance of their movement—lack of money, the demands every government would make upon its women to devote themselves to palliative measures instead of basic reforms, the tendency to regard each nation as a little world in itself instead of a part of the great world. The new age demanded young and vigorous leaders, but young leaders might not see the duty to establish world democracy.

Her allusion to the need for fresh leadership prefaced her announcement that she was retiring from the presidency of the Alliance, that she was unable to carry its responsibilities in addition to her duties as leader of the American movement. This announcement made a great stir, for although the board had been advised in advance of her intention to retire, they had been unable to find a successor, nor were they any more successful in persuading her to reconsider. When the matter was laid before the congress, something had to be done. A petition was drawn up and signed by every delegation except that of the United States, and formally presented to Mrs. Catt.

The United States delegation remained aloof from the demonstration until appealed to by the rest of the congress. Then Mrs. McCormick called them together. In opening the discussion she remarked that the men of America were washing their hands of world affairs, and said:

I think this is the time for American women to keep a place there. I believe this delegation has the international viewpoint, and I for one say, let us not shirk our responsibilities and as a result drop out of this organization as we have dropped out of the League of Nations!

After the conference the Americans joined the rest of the congress in urging their leader to stand for reelection. As nobody would consent to succeed her, she acquiesced, but with great reluctance. Elected to serve with her on the board were Mme. Schlum-

berger, who succeeded Mrs Fawcett as ranking vice president, Miss Chrystal Macmillan, Mrs Anna Lindemann and Mrs Anna Wicksell of Sweden as additional vice presidents, Mrs Stanley McCormick, treasurer Miss Annie Furuhjelm, Miss Rathbone of Great Britain, Mme Girardet Vielle of Switzerland, Di Ancona of Italy, and Frau Schreiber-Krieger of Germany were added to the board

Four mass meetings attracted immense crowds, to the stupefaction of the Swiss ladies who had prophesied that they would be a dead failure Then, after a week of unprecedented sensations, the historic postwar congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance came to a close

Miss Catt started home immediately, accompanied by Mrs Daniels and other delegates On her arrival in New York, she plunged without pause into the ratification campaign in Tennessee, the story of which has been told elsewhere

Although she took it patiently, it weighed heavily upon her that she must continue as head of the Alliance She called a board meeting in London six months after the Geneva congress, and sailed late in November, intending to stay in London only long enough for the conference It was her first visit to England since August of 1914, and she went over unaccompanied, taking passage on the "Imperator"

This is about the biggest ship afloat [she wrote en route] The few hundred people on it look like a small flock of flies on a kitchen wall I stay in bed until noon with a nice electric light over my bed and read after my nine o'clock breakfast At one, I lunch sitting all alone at a little table I know three women only, Mrs Pethick Lawrence is one, but they have not been seen for three days, which leaves me free to read and write and think We haven't good coal so we will be a couple of days late and I do not care a bit<sup>39</sup>

She spent Thanksgiving Day on the ocean, and took the occasion to pen two letters The first was addressed to the national officers, the second to the office staff of the national headquarters in New York

Out here alone with my thoughts, [she wrote to her fellow officers] I have kept Thanksgiving sacred to reflections upon the long trail behind us,

<sup>39</sup> C C Catt to M G Peck, Midocean, November 22, 1920

and the triumph which was its inevitable conclusion. John Adams said long after the Revolution that only about one third of the people were for it, a third being against it, and the remaining third utterly indifferent. Perhaps this proportion applies to all movements. At least a third of the women were for our cause at the end. As I look back over the years I realize that the greatest thing in the long campaign for us was not its crowning victory, but the discipline it gave us all. It was a great crusade, the world has seen none more wonderful. My admiration, love and reverence go out to that band which fought and won a revolution with congratulations that we were permitted to establish a new and good thing in the world.

She landed at Southampton twenty-four hours late, on a cold and bleak Saturday, and reached London the same evening. Here she found Rosa Manus of Holland in charge of local arrangements for the visiting board members. Rosa had engaged a steam-heated apartment at the Hotel Savoy for Mrs. Catt, with a large room for board meetings fitted up with desks and easy chairs for everybody—unprecedented luxuries. The official program began with a mass meeting at Westminster celebrating the enfranchisement of women in the United States and honoring Mrs. Catt as the victorious leader. All the suffrage societies in England united in sponsoring the meeting and Mrs. Fawcett presided. Business meetings were held daily, after which the time was filled with social affairs.

Lady Astor gave a large dinner at which the American Ambassador, John W. Davis, Mrs. Davis, some Government notables with their wives, and the officers of the Alliance were guests. Seated at table between Lord Salisbury and Lord Milner, Mrs. Catt asked about the prospects of Europe, only to find that these gentlemen were as much at sea as anybody else. The British suffrage societies gave a luncheon at the Hotel Cecil, and the same evening a reception was given at the charming home of Mrs. Stanton Coit. Mrs. Fawcett gave a reception, the Catholic suffrage society gave a dinner, the Freedom League, Mrs. Despard's society, gave a tea, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence gave a tea at the 1917 Club, and Premier Lloyd George invited the Alliance officers to luncheon at Number Ten Downing Street. Mrs. Catt spoke at a mass meeting in Central Hall and on several other occasions, and gave a dinner at the Savoy

# National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship and Catholic Women's Suffrage Society,

IN CO-OPERATION WITH

British Dominions Women's Citizens' Union; The League of the Church Militant; The Federation of Women Civil Servants; National Union of Women Teachers; Women's Freedom League; and Women's International League.

On the occasion of the Meeting in London of the Officers of the  
International Woman Suffrage Alliance,

## A Mass Meeting

TO CELEBRATE THE

ENFRANCHISEMENT OF THE WOMEN OF THE  
UNITED STATES, AND TO WELCOME

Mrs. CHAPMAN CATT,

Who led Twenty-Six Million American Women to Victory.  
Will be held at

*The Central Hall, Westminster,*

**MONDAY, NOV. 29th, at 8 p.m.**

**SPEAKERS** Mrs. CHAPMAN CATT

(President of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, and the National American  
Women's Suffrage Association)

**ALFRED NOYES, Esq.**

**VISCOUNTESS ASTOR, M.P.**

**Mrs. FAWCETT, J.P., LL.D.**

Madame M. de WITT SCHLUMBERGER (France).

Madame ANTONIA GIRARDET VIELLE (Switzerland)

D MARGHARITA ANCONA (Italy).

FRAU A SCHREIBER-KREIGER, M.P (Germany),  
will also speak a few words of greeting.

**Chair: Miss E. F. RATHBONE, J.P., C.C., M.A.**

Tickets and further information may be obtained from Miss Turner, Organiser, c/o A M & S H, Orchard House, Great Smith Street, S.W. 1, National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship, 62, Oxford St., W. 1; Catholic Women's Suffrage Society, 55, Berners Street, W. 1, British Dominions Women's Citizens' Union, 13, Temple Fortune Court, Hendon, N.W. 4, League of the Church Militant, Church House, Westminster, S.W. 1, Federation of Women Civil Servants, 56, Victoria Street, S.W. 1, National Union of Women Teachers, 46-47, Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, E.C. 4; Women's Freedom League, 144, High Holborn, W.C. 1, Women's International League, 14, Bedford Row, W.C. 1

**Tickets (Reserved & Numbered) 10/- 5/- 2/6, (Unreserved) 1/- & 6d.**

**Admission Free.**

**Doors open 7.30**

G WHITE, Chelsea.

PROGRAM OF WESTMINSTER MASS MEETING

for thirty guests, among them Sarojini Naidu and Herabai Tata of India

Among the men she met, Sir George Paish stood out for his extreme pessimism, and Lloyd George for his optimism. The Premier seemed to have come through the World War without a scar; there were no tragic lines in his face, no fatigue in the quick glancing blue eyes, no lassitude in his step. He was the only one of the "Big Four" remaining in power, and she contrasted with his resilience the broken appearance of Woodrow Wilson as she last saw him.

During her thirteen crowded days in London, she was continually aware of ill heated rooms. One scene stuck in her memory as symbolizing the British People in wintertime. It was the picture of Mrs. Fawcett, shrouded in wools even to woollen gloves, in a cavernous book-lined room, sitting before a feeble fire in a small grate and believing that she was comfortable! After London in December, the trip home on the bleak Atlantic was a luxurious experience. She was accompanied by Rosa Manus who came back with her for a visit to America.

On arriving in New York, she learned that she was accused by the anti's of a plot to get herself made Ambassador to England! *The New York Times* thought it worth while to comment editorially upon this revelation.

This is indeed a fearsome tale, the more fearsome perhaps in that one need not be a feminist to realize as a possibility of these times the making of worse selections than this would be. Mrs. Catt has a well earned reputation for tactfulness in meeting difficult situations. Her career has been a stately passage from triumph to triumph.

And on the same date, Don Marquis in his "Sun Dial" column commented

An antisuffrage paper sees a "plot" for Carrie Chapman Catt to be an ambassador. Why wouldn't Mrs. Catt be a good ambassador? Any country that she went to as ambassador ought to consider itself darn lucky!

## *First Pan American Women's Conference, Baltimore, 1922*

Latin America long had been on Mrs Catt's mind as being meagerly represented in the International Suffrage Alliance Argentina and Uruguay had been admitted at the Geneva congress, but that was a small showing of the twenty Latin American republics When it was suggested to her by the Maryland League of Women Voters, that the national convention of the League in Baltimore, in 1922, offered an excellent occasion to invite Latin American women to come to the United States for an all-American conference, she at once fell in with the idea The matter was taken up with Secretary of State Hughes He thought well of it, and agreed to transmit an invitation to the Latin American governments and Canada, to appoint official delegates to a Pan American women's conference, to meet in Baltimore in connection with the convention of the National League of Women Voters

Maud Wood Park and others secured the active support of Secretary of Commerce Hoover, Governor Ritchie of Maryland, Dr Rowe, Director of the Pan American Union, and the Baltimore Board of Trade The Leslie Commission voted \$500 toward traveling expenses of one delegate from each country

The invitation proved very popular with the southern republics Only two of them failed to accept the invitation, and the conference assembled in April, 1922, with representatives from twenty-one nations including Canada in attendance The leisurely Latin Americans were greatly impressed as they watched the brisk way the League of Women Voters ran their convention, while the latter were overwhelmed by the oratory which flowed from inexhaustible reservoirs during the Pan American conference Certainly no two gatherings ever looked less alike League delegates went to their meetings in street dress, took off their hats when they took their seats

The Latin Americans wore picture hats and looked like an elegant garden party. Despite their verbosity, however, they got some things across to the League of Women Voters which surprised the latter.

For instance, Costa Rica reported that she spent more money for education than for any other government department, the laws for protection of mothers in Peru and Guatemala, and legal protection of home and property rights of women in several other Latin American countries, were superior to similar laws in many of the United States. Señorita Mandujano astonished the League delegates when she read off a list of women who held important positions in the employ of the Chilean Government. But it was Señora Vitale of Uruguay who left her audience speechless with her enumeration of social legislation in her country—free education from kindergarten to university, with books thrown in, working reformatories instead of prisons, old age and widows' pensions, equal divorce laws for men and women, no capital punishment. Other patriotic ladies were suspected of drawing on their imaginations as they vied with one another in telling the world how well off women were in their respective countries. When they were through, Mrs. Catt remarked that there seemed to be only one thing the South American women lacked, and that was the vote! She hoped they would proceed to remove the stigma from their continent of being the only one left where women had not the smallest measure of self government.

Some of the Latin Americans were women of ability and prominence, like Mme. de Calvo of Panama, Dr. Bertha Lutz of Brazil, Señora Vitale of Uruguay. Others were mediocre political appointees. Several delegates who were attending universities in the United States made a hit with the League of Women Voters. One of these, a young Mexican, was a veritable prodigy as interpreter, turning Spanish into English and vice versa with astonishing fluency and accuracy. Two European guests were present—one of whom, Emmeline Pankhurst, had been the most controversial figure in the world ten years before. Now she was quite overshadowed by the

other English visitor, Lady Nancy Astor, who had recently been elected to the House of Commons. Since she was American by birth and the first woman sent to the House of Commons, Lady Astor was followed with a continuous ovation wherever she went.

After the Pan American women had seen how businesslike the American meetings were, they were afraid their own meeting would not compare favorably with them, and they asked the League to furnish the presiding officer for the Pan American conference. Mrs. Park thereupon asked Mrs. Catt to meet with them. Mrs. Catt's long experience with meetings conducted in two or more languages, her tact combined with authority, made a great impression on women to whom manner was almost as important as matter. Only once was she caught off guard.

Señora Vitale had brought a resolution drawn up by Dr. Paulina Luisi of Uruguay, proposing the formation of "a Pan American association for the advancement of women." Without consulting anybody in advance, Señora Vitale introduced it at the conference, it was adopted with applause, and the meeting proceeded to elect officers then and there! Mrs. Catt was nominated as chairman, and when she said she could not serve, they made her honorary chairman, and forthwith elected Maud Wood Park (who was not present) as their chief! As soon as Mrs. Park heard of her election she said it was impossible for her to serve, which left the new "organization" headed by an honorary chairman! The Pan Americans saw nothing unusual in these proceedings, indeed they were highly pleased with the accomplishments of the conference. Mrs. Park and Mrs. Catt did not wish to discourage any manifestation of interest coming from their neighbors to the south, and matters were left as they were.

Mrs. Catt invited several of the Latin American delegates to visit her at Juniper Ledge. There in sober heart-to-heart talks she pointed out to them that to have any reality a Pan American association must be a federation of national women's societies, and that in most of the countries south of the Rio Grande no such societies existed. She explained the hard process of building up an organiza-



tion fit to carry a popular movement to success. When she was through, their roseate ideas had been brought down to earth. The fact that South America was the only continent where women were without any form of the franchise provided a definite issue. She suggested that, as president of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, she visit South America to encourage the movement for equal rights, a suggestion that was eagerly accepted.

Having clinched the project of her South American tour, she saw her visitors depart filled with hope and zeal, and with some idea of the way to go about putting them into practical operation. Two letters written by the delegates from Panama and Brazil bear eloquent testimony to the effect of her counsels upon these young disciples. One was from Ester de Calvo.

I cannot express in sufficient words my feeling of gratefulness to you. You have been to me the spiritual mother who inspires and guides her child, the lighthouse which gives light to the uncertain ship and shows it the way that leads to the right shore. During my stay in your beautiful country home, you gave me the opportunity to be near you and to feel the good influence of your mind and heart.

It seems to me as if some part of your spirit had passed into mine, as if the strength of your will had given a new impulse to my will, as if the love of freedom that is constantly in blossom in your heart had given to mine hope and courage. I feel myself capable to do what I should never have thought possible to do before.

I will never forget the days I spent near you, days which I consider for me the beginning of a new life.

I promise you to make all the efforts I can for your successful and agreeable stay in our country.

The second letter is from Miss Bertha Lutz, delegate from Brazil.

As I take up my pen to thank you for the wonderful days spent with you, I feel as if it were inadequate. How can I tell you what they meant to me? These were days of focussing of vision on questions that seemed blurred before, days of growth, and of happiness and repose.

It seemed wonderful, after having made the first steps unguided, to find in the midst of the journey the great leader, and to know that I have

found a source from which flows all that I myself don't know and yet the others want me to teach them

The days I spent with you were amongst the happiest in my life Never shall I forget them in their serenity and peace and from that memory will come renewed enthusiasm and strength

Mme de Calvo and Miss Lutz would be outstanding women in any country, the former an educator, the latter a scientist, both having achieved government recognition in their respective fields Bertha Lutz was the daughter of a Swiss-Brazilian zoologist father and an English mother Like many South Americans, she went to France for higher education and took an advanced degree in zoology at the Sorbonne Coming back to Brazil, she took a competitive examination and won government appointment as secretary of the National Museum in Rio de Janeiro Entirely on their own initiative, Miss Lutz and another feminist, Maria Lacerda de Moura, started a suffrage society, and under their ardent leadership the feminist cause raised its head in Brazil The Brazilian Government was proud of its brilliant young feminist, and when the invitation to send a representative to the Pan American women's conference came, Bertha Lutz was at once chosen Her meeting with Mrs Catt in Baltimore made a profound impression on her

While the young Brazilian was visiting her after the Pan American meeting, Mrs Catt discovered that her visitor had other interests besides votes for women The two were walking along the stream which flowed through Juniper Ledge, when suddenly Bertha crouched down on the bank and "froze" there, a moment later, she plunged her hand into the water and brought out a frog which she examined with absorbed scrutiny It proved to be a specimen new to her and for the rest of the day she devoted herself to catching frogs to take back to her father in Brazil

The Chilean delegate, Miss Mandujano, was featured in the American press because she provided a new publicity stunt She applied to the League of Women Voters for a list of the twelve most famous women in the United States in order that she might write them up for the South American papers The League called

on its members for a vote on the twelve. The idea spread and lists broke out like a rash on all sides. A list appeared on the editorial page of *The New York Times*, where Mrs. Catt's name was third on the list, preceded by Geraldine Farrar and Edith Wharton, and followed by Molla Mallory, Alice Paul, Ida Tarbell, Jane Addams, Amy Lowell, Mrs. Fiske, M. Carey Thomas, Mary Pickford and Agnes Repplier—interesting as a metropolitan newspaper's idea of the leading ladies of the period!

### *Final Tour of Europe*

One of the main articles in any good leader's creed is that a retiring executive should leave her organization in a healthy condition for her successor. To fulfill this obligation, Mrs. Catt planned to spend her last year as president of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in making a final missionary journey. The first part of the tour was to cover Europe in order to see for herself the results of the war-enfranchisement of women, the second part was to take advantage of the invitation extended by the Pan American women's conference to visit South America.

The way she put in the summer of 1922, getting affairs in shape for her long absence from the country, filled onlookers with awe. In June her secretary, Clara Hyde, commented in a personal letter:

The Chief is working hard on her book [*Woman Suffrage and Politics*] from 8 A. M. to 5 P. M. each day. She has continual headaches, is pale and harassed, takes half an hour for lunch, in short, is driving herself just as she has all her life. She will have the manuscript ready for reading July 15.

In August the secretary wrote:

The book went to the publisher Friday, thank God! Perhaps she will now be less peppery than she has been. She is coming to the office three days a week, clearing up International and South American correspondence. Next Friday, packers are coming to store her books, while she and I clear out two closets full of business papers.

In September the secretary wrote that the publishers, Scribners, wanted certain changes in the manuscript which Mrs. Catt had no time to make, that she had asked Rose Young to make them and to see the book off the press, as she would be in Europe when it appeared. Her New York apartment was given up and Miss Hay

was established in a hotel in the city, where her duties as city chairman of the New York League of Women Voters and her club connections would keep her well occupied

Having arranged her affairs as well as she could, Mrs Catt sailed for Naples early in October. She was greatly troubled at leaving her book to be gotten out in her absence

If ever you are tempted to write a book, commit suicide at once! [she wrote en route]<sup>39</sup>

I should have spent three months more on ours before letting anyone have a peep at it. Of course my duties crossed as they always do. I ought to have stayed at home till the thing got through the printer's hands, but I had to go to Italy. Ida Harper says she would not leave a book for someone else to get out for a million dollars, and I think she is right. So I go away feeling very humiliated and anxious about it. I don't know whether it ever will get printed or not. I am sure I shall hate to read it. yet there is a message in it. So, so, goodbye, book!

Three days later she resumed the letter

This morning I arose at 7 A.M. to join the enterprising on the passenger list as we passed Gibraltar. With mountains of Africa on one side and those stern giants on the other, I thought how curious it is that John Bull gets every place of vantage and puts cannon on it. I was so tired that every muscle and nerve ached when I came on board, and I have been miserable all the way across. I shall recuperate, I always do, but at present I am just down and out. I am not looking for anything interesting in Europe, for I shall find no time for the investigations I should like to make.

Landing in Naples, October 18, she was met by Rosa Manus and, after two days of eager sightseeing in that historic region, the two went to Rome. Here she was joined by Mrs Stanley McCormick and Mrs Corbett Ashby, fellow officers of the Alliance, and conferences with the Italian committee of arrangements for the congress of the Alliance, which was to meet the following spring in Rome, began at once.

But more momentous things than a feminist congress were in the air. The city was filled with rumors of an approaching army of revolutionaries converging upon the capital along all the roads

<sup>39</sup> Letter, C. C. Catt to M. G. Peck, October 12, 1922

that lead to Rome. They were said to be unarmed, and as the authorities didn't know what to do about them they did nothing. On Saturday, October 28, the black shirt bands began to pour into the city and the government, tottering to its fall, declared Rome to be in a state of siege. For the next four days not a train entered or left the capital, but the Fascists continued to arrive on foot by the thousands. Their first overt act was to wreck four opposition newspaper plants and burn the contents in street bonfires, but otherwise they did nothing more violent than march around and around the city with bands of music, like the Children of Israel at Jericho.

Mrs. Catt was an absorbed watcher of events as they unfolded day by day, and she wrote a vivid account of them for *The Woman Citizen*.<sup>40</sup> She noted the mood of the Roman street crowds, at first cautious, then gradually fraternizing until a holiday spirit prevailed. She observed the anxiety of tourists, unable to get out of the city, except on foot, unable to get any money out of the closed banks. The extreme youth of the revolutionists struck her.

One wondered how so many of them managed to get away from their mothers. They appeared to be between sixteen and twenty-two, many were armed, but these probably were ex-soldiers, many carried no weapons. They were boys with fine, earnest faces, and in all the time they were in virtual possession of Rome, I did not see one drunken Fascist.

She described their vast meetings in the Colosseum by day, and how ten thousand of them slept nightly beneath the arches of that ancient "grandeur that was Rome." Conflicting rumors swept the streets during the first two days of the invasion, while the extraordinary figure who had launched the youth of Italy upon their hesitating ruler watched from a safe distance how it was going before he joined them. On the third day, Monday, Mussolini came and was escorted to the King, while the boys in their cheap black shirts paraded diligently around the city. Tuesday, the Romans awoke to find the walls of the city posted with notices declaring a holiday and a grand parade, "just as they did in Pompeii two thousand years ago." By this time the sober black shirts were enlivened by

<sup>40</sup> *The Woman Citizen*, December 16, 1922.

masses of blue shirts and helmets of the rival nationalist organization, while soldiers of the regular army in olive khaki were on guard. The government had fallen, Mussolini had been made Premier, trains would begin to roll on Wednesday.

Wednesday came, Mussolini asked a friend to buy him a black coat and silk hat to wear when he took the oath of office, and he and his new cabinet went in civilian dress, escorted by black and blue shirts, to the Quirinal where he entered upon his career as Duce. Although wheels were turning again, the trains were filled with departing Fascists whom their leader was now hustling out of the city as fast as possible. Banks were wisely kept closed until they were gone, and tourists were no better off than they had been, so far as getting away was concerned.

During the whole swift, amazing episode, Mrs. Catt watched with absorbed attention the behavior of the street crowds. On Saturday, only the poorest citizens greeted the revolutionists, on Tuesday, all Rome had been won over and flowers rained down on the paraders from balcony and housetop. It did not escape her that many women were marching for a movement which was anti-feminist. "Mussolini is not only an antisuffragist, but one with no open mind," she wrote, commenting on his announced intention to turn women out of paid positions in order to replace them with men. She realized that fascism boded no good to women. Her familiarity with history warned her that every great war had been followed by a period of violent suppression of liberal institutions. From the first she had been none too sanguine about the permanence of the sudden conversion of autocratic European governments to feminism and the march on Rome was a disquieting prelude to her last European tour.

Her plans were now complicated by the fact that she had contracted an intestinal ailment in Rome which made traveling hazardous. If she had been going to make the trip by herself, she would have had to stay where she was until she recovered. Fortunately, Rosa Manus was to accompany her, and Rosa among other qualifications was a capable nurse.

They went first to Vienna, friendliest and gayest of capitals when last Mrs Catt had seen it, ten years before. Now it was a capital without an empire. Its grandiose palaces and posturing statues, its parks and schools remained, but the stream of life that once flowed around them had shrunk to a trickle. The streets were shabby and neglected, the people looked poor and dejected. Frau von Furth, leader of the Austrian suffragists, invited the visitors to dine at her home. Mrs Catt had visited her on former occasions in a fine apartment which gave every evidence of prosperity. She was still living in the grand apartment, but the drawing room was closed to save heat. Dinner was still served in five or six courses, but the food was meager in quantity. Fantastic inflation had wiped out their fortune, and behind the friendly welcome with which she was met, Mrs Catt divined that her hosts were feeling the pinch of poverty and the fear of darker days to follow. There was one cheerful incident which brightened the Austrian visit. She was taken to the Parliament over which floated the flag of the new republic, and looking down from the balcony, she saw eleven women sitting as members. This in the country where women formerly had been forbidden to form or join any kind of a political organization.

From Vienna the travelers went to Budapest. Mrs Catt had tried to forestall the expense of a formal reception and the inevitable huge bouquet which her Hungarian friends were wont to bestow upon honored guests, and she was deeply touched by the demonstration at the station on her arrival. A delegation was there to meet her, and a young girl stepped forward to make a short address of welcome and to present her with one beautiful chrysanthemum, after which brief formalities the guests were escorted to the Hotel Hungaria. Here they were greeted by a hotel staff in uniform, a display similar to that which had been in evidence ten years before when the hotel was the headquarters of the Alliance congress. But now the well pressed uniforms were threadbare, while the military bearing of the porters and bellhops was not the result of any hotel training; it was evidence of the patient discipline of old soldiers of a disbanded army, many of whom were obviously fitted for far higher positions than those they were now thankful to hold.



In response to her wish to meet women of the white collar class, whose plight had been lost sight of in the publicity given to the ruin of the rich and the destitution of the poor, Mrs Catt was given a dinner where she met these groups. Among them was the only woman member of the Hungarian Parliament, Anna Ketty. Here she learned what these women were facing in the struggle for existence. Salaries were rated by the amount of bread they would buy. A good stenographer could earn enough to buy one kilo of brown bread—two and one-fifth pounds—for her family per day. White bread was little used in Europe outside of England, coffee only by the rich, tea very sparingly, milk was reserved for invalids and children. She painstakingly computed what the Hungarian Premier's salary would amount to in American money and found it to be \$8 per month, while the Members of Parliament were receiving \$5.60!

Calling upon a friend who had formerly been well to do, she found the family scarcely able to exist. The head of the household was a bank official, who had fortunately completed the education of his children before the end of the war so that now they were able to work. The combined earnings of the family supplied bread and tea (but no butter or jam) for breakfast, and meat for dinner four times a week. The son, a civil engineer, boarded at home and had to use all his salary for his clothes. From time to time, the bank obtained pieces of dress goods at wholesale from which the women of the family bought material for their frocks. The stuff in their costumes being identical, they did what they could by making them up in different styles to avoid looking as though they were in uniform! They considered themselves fortunate to have enough to eat and a roof over their heads, but they lived in daily dread of losing their jobs. They said they could bear the present if they could see some hope ahead of better times, but instead of hope they saw only deepening doubt and fear. The government was maintained by ruthless oppression. The American visitor was told of the horrors of concentration camps, of the Red and White Terrors; of arrest, interminable imprisonments, disappearances, tortures through which the Hungarian nation had lived since the war. Every civil right had been trampled under foot, suffrage for both sexes wa

an empty form Hungary, which formerly had been the most liberal country in eastern Europe, where the press was uncensored and passports were superfluous, was now ruled by a dictatorship, supported by a violently nationalist, anti-semitic, anti-feminist political organization called "Waking Magyars!" A young woman who recently matriculated at the university medical school had been kicked downstairs by a band of "Waking Magyar" fellow students!

It was practically the same picture she had seen in Vienna, and but for one incident would have left an impression of unrelieved gloom After a public speech which she was permitted to give, she was guest of honor at a dinner at Deli's restaurant and was heartened to see gathered around the long table men and women she had known in happier times There was the liberal Jew, Goldmark, the ardent pacifist, Father Gieswein, and others of differing race and religion, men and women striving to keep alive hope for a better society than the one in which they lived

From Budapest the visitors went on to Czechoslovakia where they met the first indication of a returning normal state of existence Here was a released people, a new nation in process of evolution Well did Mrs Catt remember her difficulties on former visits to Prague when the Czechs and Germans were not on speaking terms! The Germans were no longer in the ascendancy now, but were merged in a republic, with an enlightened patriot as president There was an elected parliament, and the government had started out by balancing its budget A good contribution to the latter achievement had been made by women who turned in their jewelry Mrs Catt noted that a Czechoslovak M P received a salary which amounted to \$163 per month in United States money, in contrast to the \$5 60 paid in Hungary and the abysmal *twenty cents* to which the stipend of the Austrian legislators boiled down from the astronomical figures of their paper money

It was a great joy to her to meet her friends, Maria Tumová and Frantiska Plaminkova, both of whom were actively engaged in public affairs Miss Tumová, long known as a successful teacher, was now organizing the public school system of the country The greatest difficulty she was encountering came in consequence of tak-

ing Roman Catholic religious instruction out of the schools. Vehement opposition was registered by the Church to this divorcing of church and school. Miss Plaminkova, now an influential member of the City Council of Prague, had arranged interviews with political leaders for Mrs. Catt in order that she might hear what they had to say for and against woman's new place in public affairs. Only one of these gentlemen expressed opposition to the enfranchisement of women, he was leader of the Agrarian Party, and opposed it on the ground that peasant women were under the influence of the Catholic clergy and therefore were not as loyal to their class as they should be. Mrs. Catt was particularly pleased to hear that women in all parties had formed classes to teach the principles of government and party organization.

The outstanding event of her one day's stay in Prague was a luncheon with President Masaryk and his daughter Alice. The President lived in the country, but his official residence was the palace in Prague. Mrs. Catt had met Masaryk when he was in America, the last year of the war, enlisting support for the creation of an independent Czechoslovak state, and she had looked forward to meeting him again now that his lifelong purpose had been accomplished. This extraordinary man, son of a coachman, who had risen to eminence without resorting to any of those shifty expedients by which politicians think they prosper, at the time of her visit was seventy-two years of age, but vigorous and with many years of activity still before him. His wife, an American, was critically ill at their country home, largely, it was said, as a result of the systematic persecution of the family during the war years. Charlotte Garrigue was a music student in Leipsic when Masaryk met her. She was born in Brooklyn to a substantial family of Huguenot descent and liberal principles. Her influence upon her husband's troubled career was recognized by him when he took her name in addition to his own, becoming known as Thomas Garrigue Masaryk. The indomitable resolution with which she supported him, the spiritual and material aid she rendered, were of vital importance, and it was his greatest personal tragedy that he lost her soon after their mutual dream was realized. She died not many months after Mrs. Catt's

visit to Prague, an American woman who will be long remembered in her adopted country

Accompanied by Miss Plaminkova, Mrs Catt was received in the ancient residence of the kings of Bohemia, situated on the highest elevation of the city overlooking a superb prospect. Miss Alice Masaryk, who filled her mother's place as hostess, was carrying her share of public responsibilities as president of the national Red Cross and director of social service activities. The President and his daughter met their guests in a state apartment hung with portraits of bygone royalty and warriors, from which they proceeded to a smaller room where the luncheon was served. Here more pictured grandees looked down upon them from the walls. Mrs Catt commented upon the contrast between the scene the pictured gentry now were witnessing and those in which they had taken part in their time. Dr Masaryk glanced up at the wall and rejoined, "Do you know, it is only recently when another visitor said that same thing that I noticed there were portraits here!" So overwhelmed have I been with my duties that I have been like a child learning to walk. My eyes have had to be focussed on the ground where every step has had to be placed with care."

Nor were the careful steps a thing of the past. The ancient feud between Czech and German still smouldered. A few weeks later a member of Masaryk's Cabinet was assassinated and anti-semitism had to be held down continually with an iron hand. Despite these malignant potentialities, a democratic and progressive regime at the top was clearly reflected in a feeling of optimism at the bottom. The cheerful faces which Mrs Catt saw everywhere on the streets of Prague were a welcome contrast to the hunted and desperate faces she had left in Vienna and Budapest. So, too, was the wholesome acceptance of women in the affairs of government. Fourteen women were sitting in the Czechoslovakian Parliament and many others were in public employ throughout the country.

The illness contracted in Rome had left Mrs Catt in poor shape to undergo the strain of the crowded days in Vienna, Budapest and Prague. During their stay in Prague, Rosa Manus became seriously worried by her companion's exhaustion. She entreated her to cut

their itinerary short, go directly to Berlin and consult Dr Felix Jacobi, a prominent surgeon and Rosa's brother-in-law. Unwillingly Mrs Catt consented and Dr Jacobi ordered his patient to bed for complete rest

The Berlin friends had not been apprised of her illness, and Frau Schreiber-Krieger, now a member of the German Parliament, had made an appointment for her to address the Reichstag Mrs Catt was told it was the first time a foreigner had been invited to speak from the tribune, and she saw that the German women thought it important to keep the engagement In spite of Dr Jacobi's disapproval, she did so She appeared under the auspices of the Women's Social Welfare Workers of Berlin, Frau Schreiber-Krieger presided and Mrs Catt spoke from the Chancellor's place on the rostrum She remained a week in Berlin while recovering from her indisposition, and towards the end of her stay was a dinner guest at the official residence of President and Mrs Ebert She had heard much of Ebert's rise from a humble origin—he was the son of a tailor—of his political sagacity, of the great dignity shown by his wife in her high position, and was not disappointed when she met them Comparing Ebert's task with that of Masaryk, however, she felt that the German President had a much darker prospect It would not be easy to change a junker-trained, goose-stepping nation into a democracy. Masaryk had behind him a people who for generations had hated militarism and longed for freedom

It was a deep disappointment to suffrage friends in Belgium and France that Mrs Catt was obliged to cancel her visits to both countries A woman suffrage bill was pending in the French Parliament and an appointment for her to address the Senate in its behalf had been made In spite of the curtailment of her traveling schedule, it was with great reluctance that Dr. Jacobi let her start for London the last week in November He insisted that she place herself under the care of a physician as soon as she arrived He had some confidence in his sister-in-law's nursing powers, but none whatever in his patient's docility as he saw them depart

London was at its coldest and rawest when Mrs Catt arrived. The British women were tired out by the general election just ended

Thirty women had been candidates, but only Lady Astor and Mrs Wintringham had been elected to the House of Commons. On her first day in the city, from her window in the Hotel Cecil, Mrs Catt looked down on the royal procession as the King went to open Parliament. She contrasted the gorgeous ceremonial of democratic England with the republican simplicity she had so lately observed in the parliaments of Vienna, Budapest, Prague and Berlin.

The board meetings lasted a week and were characterized by unusual difference of opinion about the place where the next congress should be held. Mrs McCormick, treasurer of the Alliance, was anything but favorable to holding it in Rome. She had just had a hard time getting out of Italy in her car to come to the board meeting, had, in fact, dashed over the frontier into France regardless of the revolvers with which she was threatened by young black shirt guards, and she was not yet calmed down to the point of wishing to return! The president of the Alliance herself felt that, in view of the antifeminist slant of the Fascist dictatorship, Italy was an unpromising place for a suffrage congress. She felt even more strongly about the hall in Rome which had been selected for the meeting, the Exposition Palace. As to its acoustics, she said, "I stood in the middle of the hall and Mrs McCormick went to one end, and I could neither hear what she said nor could she hear what I said although both of us yelled at the top of our voices!" In the end, however, Rome carried the day, to the unbounded gloom of Mrs McCormick.

The board of the International Council of Women was meeting in London at the same time as the Alliance board, and the two groups held a joint session to plan cooperation. Lady Astor gave a dinner and reception for them, Mrs Wintringham gave a tea on the House of Commons Terrace, and there were other social festivities. At the end of her ten days stay in London, despite continuous meetings and other activities, Mrs Catt's health was considerably improved. With a relieved mind at having accomplished the European tour, she started with Rosa Manus for Southampton, where they embarked for South America.

*Tour of South America, 1922-1923*

In visiting South America it was Mrs Catt's purpose to get a general idea of feminism throughout the continent, to strengthen the woman suffrage movement where it was in existence, and to start organizations in those countries, in so far as she was able to visit them, which had sent delegates to the Baltimore conference. Two South American countries were already represented in the International Alliance, Uruguay and Argentina, and after Bertha Lutz returned home from the Baltimore conference she had enlisted the cooperation of other feminists in forming a Brazilian suffrage association. In several other countries, groups of women were striving for enlarged opportunity for their sex but without a common program. In discussing her projected tour with Lady Aberdeen in London, she was requested to bring back a report of the condition and activities of the South American branches of the International Council of Women.

Mrs Catt's party included Rosa Manus, Mrs Anita van Lennep, who had lived in South America and spoke Spanish fluently, and Miss Elizabeth Babcock of New York. The four travelers met in Southampton at the steamer which sailed the first day of December, 1922. During the eighteen-day voyage they stopped at Cherbourg to take on many South Americans who were returning home dressed in the latest Paris styles, and a contingent of emigrants. They touched at Corunna, Villagarcia and Vigo to take on more emigrants who came out to the ship in little boats. They had a day in Lisbon where Mrs Catt hired a car and saw a good deal of Portugal with Miss Manus, and they had a few hours in Madeira. Their first South American stop was Pernambuco, where the chief of police came aboard with an official welcome from the Governor of the

Province for Mrs Catt, and from that time on wherever she went in Brazil she was received as a public guest with official honors

They reached Rio de Janeiro a few days before Christmas, in the hottest part of the summer The day after her arrival, Mrs Catt addressed the opening meeting of the congress of the Brazilian Association for the Advancement of Women The congress had been called at the time of her visit so that she could be present at the organization of the Brazilian Alliance for Woman Suffrage, under the auspices of the Association There were three suffrage societies in the new alliance which had been formed largely through the efforts of Miss Lutz, Maria Lacerda de Moura and Dr Walkyria Moreira da Silva Because of her background, Dr Moreira da Silva could hardly have escaped being a suffragist Her father was the Delphin Moreira who, as a delegate from São Paulo to the constitutional convention, helped to draft the Brazilian Constitution of 1888, after the abdication of Dom Pedro It was largely due to the insistence of Senhor Moreira that the word "male" was omitted from the definition of the qualifications of voters The fact that he named his daughter Walkyria and that he made all his children promise to do their utmost to raise the status of Brazilian women are further illustrations of the advanced views of this remarkable man

Being innocent of the ways of South America, Mrs Catt and Rosa Manus went to their first meeting in Rio a little in advance of the hour set, and were ushered into a large and entirely empty auditorium! They went up front and seated themselves to await developments It was half an hour before the next arrival, which proved to be Miss Lutz, who was to act as interpreter Mrs Catt apologized for having misunderstood the hour set for the meeting Miss Lutz assured her that she had made no mistake, but that meetings never began on time in Brazil When the meeting finally got under way, a government official took his seat behind a table on the rostrum and rang a bell to call the audience to order Without rising, he made a few preliminary remarks and then introduced the speaker of the evening For an awful moment Mrs Catt won-



dered if she, too, were expected to speak from her chair. She shook off her doubt and stood up as usual for her address, as did Bertha Lutz in making an animated and eloquent translation. The new national suffrage association was inaugurated, with Mrs. Justo Chermont of Rio de Janeiro as president.

On the day following, Mrs. Catt and the officers of the association were invited to visit the Brazilian Senate—the first time women had been so honored. They were received by the Vice President and several Senators, and a formal address of welcome in English was delivered by a courtly old Senator who had been graduated from the University of Pennsylvania. After being treated to champagne—Mrs. Catt took mineral water and the University of Pennsylvania Senator did the same—they were conducted to the Senate Chamber, where the American guest watched the legislative procedure. Senators wishing to speak raised their hands, as American pupils do in school, and when recognized spoke without rising. She was told that, if a Senator abused his privilege by speaking too long or too often, the presiding officer rang the bell continuously until he subsided.

During her three weeks stay in Brazil, under the guidance of Bertha Lutz she visited the chief cities and met many leaders in the social and political scene. She was chiefly interested to learn of the liberal attitude toward women on the part of the government. A considerable number of women were in government employ. She met many successful professional women, others engaged in technical and scientific research, was told that there were six well known women civil engineers and one aviatrix. On the other hand, she met plenty of women who would not appear on the street without an escort, and who indoors lived lives of parasitic idleness. In the public schools Brazilian children were being taught that their nation is composed of three race elements—Indian, Negro and Portuguese—which are equal in the eyes of the law. The educational system from primary school to university was open to all citizens of both sexes, theoretically that is, for the number of schools was hopelessly inadequate. She sensed the vastness of the interior beyond the rim

of Europeanized culture, a tropical region as unexplored as the interior of North America was when the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth. She was made aware of the tremendous experiment in subduing a continent and governing a basically heterogeneous population, and she wondered which would prevail—the liberal forces which had formulated the Brazilian Constitution, or the reactionary predatory forces.

The northern visitors concluded their Brazilian stay in Santos, the greatest coffee port in the world. When they boarded the steamer for Buenos Aires with ceremonious farewells from the Governor of São Paulo, such a deluge of flowers accompanied them that an astonished fellow passenger inquired if they were a funeral cortege!

An official welcome from the government met them on their arrival in the Argentine capital, where they were taken in charge by the Argentine branch of the International Alliance. The suffragists in Buenos Aires were not united—there were three societies—and they were not affiliated with the Council of Women, but the Council joined with them in welcoming Mrs. Catt. The largest meeting so far addressed by her was gotten up by the Alliance group and their energetic president, Dr. Alicia Moreau de Justo, a successful physician.

Superficially, Argentina with its large and varied white population, its lively commerce and agricultural hinterland, resembled the United States, but the status of women was antiquated in the extreme. They did not have control of their property, were not legal guardians of their children, and had no access to the law courts as witnesses. One exception to this benighted state was seen in the fact that a woman's benevolent organization had been entrusted by the state for a hundred years with a large part of the public charities. Church and state being united, the sixty women on the governing board naturally were all Catholics. In Argentina, as in Brazil, Mrs. Catt was tendered an official reception by the national Senate.

From Buenos Aires the party took an eight-hour night trip across the vast, muddy estuary of the River Plata to Montevideo, where

they were met in the early morning by two hundred women with flowers and a brass band, playing the national anthems of Uruguay and the United States. Reporters and cameramen crowded around while the inevitable government representative presented the formal compliments of the State. To prove that in this case the official welcome was something more than an empty form, when Mrs. Catt tried to pay her hotel bill on leaving, she was left dizzy by being told there was no bill since she was the guest of the nation! Furthermore, two government cars were at her disposal throughout her stay.

She had been prepared by Señora Vitale's exposition at the Baltimore conference of the advanced laws in Uruguay to look for a model state of society in the little republic. But she found that, while Argentina and Uruguay had the highest percentage of literacy in South America, nevertheless almost half the children in both countries never saw the inside of a schoolroom. Women in Uruguay had a better position under the law than in any other Spanish speaking country. In one respect Argentine women were ahead of their Uruguayan sisters, since in Uruguay welfare work was administered exclusively by men. Church and State were separate in Uruguay, and, as in all South American countries, welfare and penal institutions were supported by state lotteries. Here, as in Buenos Aires, the American visitors were astounded at the palatial quarters which housed the public charges—huge buildings with marble floors and stairs, tiled roofs, modern plumbing and lighting, above all, no overcrowding. As in Argentina, prostitution was regulated by the state. Mrs. Catt was struck by the fact that the asylums and prisons were much better supported than the schools in both countries, probably the result of the Catholic tradition.

Owing to her absence in Geneva where she was representing Uruguay on a League of Nations Committee, Dr. Paulina Luisi, president of the Uruguay Suffrage Association, was not at home during Mrs. Catt's visit, but Señora Vitale had arranged a most interesting and fruitful program.

From Montevideo, Mrs. Catt returned to Buenos Aires, and there entrained for Santiago, Chile. She employed the long journey

across the plains, tawny with ripening wheat or dotted with vast herds of cattle, in writing travel articles for *The Woman Citizen* and personal letters, and in reading the books she had brought along. The scenery of the Andes was by no means as stupendous as she had hoped it would be. Arrived in Chile, she found many things to remind her of California, there were the same soft, dry air and cool nights; in the background were the same barren mountain peaks, fruits and vegetables had to be raised by irrigation—flowers, trees and everything green being watered continually. The resemblance held good even down to the wild poppies and sand fleas and the absence of mosquitoes. But there the resemblance to California ended, for the roads were poor and the hotels were worse.

The party was met at Santiago by the enterprising Señorita Mandujano, who had represented Chile at the Baltimore conference. She had arranged a program for the visitors which furnished a complete picture of the feminist scene. She took them to the chief hotel, where Mrs. Catt discovered that "the entire staff of the administration are women and very efficient, while the 'chambermaids' are all men and inefficient!" Carrying out the principle of letting women handle the money, the streetcars had women conductors and men drivers. She was taken to the University of Chile, highest institution of the free public school system, and was pleased to hear that it had been coeducational for many years and that a thousand young women were in attendance. She learned that many women physicians were practicing throughout the country and that women educators were to be found in all grades from primary to university circles.

She spoke a number of times before women's organizations, with Señorita Mandujano as her interpreter. The latter was enthusiastic over the effect produced upon audiences inclined to be offish at the outset, for here as everywhere else she went in Latin America the Monroe Doctrine shook its gory locks and had to be exorcised before she could get on a friendly footing with her audiences.

As was the case in Argentina and Uruguay, a Council of Women had been organized in Chile three years before, with Señora Lebarca

de Hewett as president. This remarkable woman had studied for her doctor's degree at Columbia University and the Sorbonne, was Professor of Psychology at the National University, and was also directress of the Girls' High School in Santiago. The Council of Women had acquired a fine old house in Santiago, built around an open patio, and had fitted it up as dormitories for out-of-town women students at the university. In spite of the fact that many women were out of town vacationing at the seashore, Mrs. Catt addressed a public meeting which filled the patio to capacity.

She spoke to another gathering at the Santiago Woman's Club, whose headquarters occupied the first floor of an old palace, built some two hundred years before. She describes the occasion and the women she met there.<sup>41</sup>

The patio has been roofed over and thus furnishes an excellent hall where lectures, classes and concerts are conducted. A reception was given us in this first of Chilean women's clubs where we met some remarkable women—writers, singers, musicians. "Roxane," a contributor to newspapers and magazines, whose name is known to every Chilean, we afterwards saw in her own little snugger, where, well up under a quaint old roof surrounded by books and pictures, she writes her brilliant comments on people and things. "Iris," a writer of books, is probably the best known woman author of Chile. She is the mother of four grown daughters, and is beautiful, which never spoils a genuine woman. We took tea with her at her home, a palace in the midst of a great garden shut in by rose covered walls. "Roxane" gets her impulses from the big conflicts in the world outside, "Iris" gets hers from the beauty of her surroundings and the unrest in her own soul. These two [women] are good friends and fellow directors of the Woman's Club. We were glad to meet there a relative of Rebecca Matte de Iniquez, the greatest sculptor of Chile, now living in Florence. This club is laying a foundation for the larger woman's movement yet to come.

A Catholic Liga de Damas is a recent development at Santiago, and followed the appearance of the Y W C A, which latter organization in its comfortable home is doing much toward enlarging the life of girls. It has introduced girls' camps which at first shocked, but were finally embraced by large numbers of girls. The new Catholic Liga is undertaking similar work.

A new Partido Civico Feminino has been formed, with Señora Ester La R. de Sanguese as president. It publishes an excellent little paper, *Accion Feminina*, and is a strong group.

<sup>41</sup> *The Woman Citizen*, April 21, 1923

The activities of these organizations are almost entirely confined to the two chief cities, Santiago and Valparaiso. The great territory with its scattered population which lies behind these cities as in all other South American countries is untouched by the woman movement, is indeed only slightly affected by the earnest desire of government to spread education.

We visited the Chamber of Deputies where we were received cordially by the Speaker, and the Senate where the President of that body received us. I had an hour's talk with the President of Chile, Don Arturo Alessandri, a man of the new time. He is a feminist, earnestly advocating equality of educational privileges for women, a revision of the Civil Code and the eventual extension of the vote. He is a keen propagandist for Pan Americanism and the League of Nations, and he advocates many reforms, among which is the separation of Church and State, although he is himself a Catholic.

Meantime women are far from satisfied, but they have no effectively large and united organizations to conduct a campaign for betterment. At present the [Chilean] woman upon marriage loses her property, the right to wages, the right to her children, and can not testify in court or sign a legal paper. A working woman may have her own bank account until she has accumulated \$150. After that, the account becomes a "family account," which means that it passes to the husband. Although the women's organizations are few, small and timid, yet in some particulars they seem more normal and fundamental than in any other country visited. Chile has many women of remarkable gifts and many university girls who will be women soon. We are greatly indebted to Señorita Mandujano for our program here and many attentions, including interpretation.

At the close of her stay, Mrs. Catt and her companions took passage in a new steamer just delivered from the Glasgow shipyards. It sailed with a Chilean crew and, during the week she was on it, its spotless paint and decks grew dirtier and dirtier with no attempt to clean them. The food was bad and the service slovenly, but the panorama of the Andes rising steadily higher as they sailed northward for a thousand miles along the narrow strip of coast that is Chile atoned for discomfort. Fortunately there was an excellent library of books on South America in the ship's equipment, and the stops at Antofagasta for copper and nitrate, and again at Iquique and Arica were of great interest.

Our 7,000-ton vessel is prepared for just this kind of cargo [she wrote as she watched the process of loading]. It has ten great cranes run by elec-

tricity, a child could manage them, and they are all going. Our ship is surrounded by scows, each full of sacks of nitrate which is white like coarse salt. As Chile was neutral [during the war] the Germans did not lose their nitrate interests and might have continued their commerce, but nitrate is shipped in gunny sacks, and these come from India, and England wouldn't let them have any! It is these little things of which we never hear that contribute to the perpetuation of brotherly love.

I can not imagine any lives more desolate than those confined to this coast, shut in by mountains and ocean. The only redeeming feature is the superb climate, yet nothing grows here, as there is so much nitrate in the soil that it kills every sprout. This is the region in dispute between Peru and Chile, with Bolivia on the side. It takes on a different significance when one is on the spot and comprehends how these people hate each other. Tomorrow we shall call at Arica, the port the Bolivians want on the Pacific, the spot where the inhabitants will vote when Harding [prescribes the method]. It is a wee, dusty little settlement but it is a seaport. We anchor out in the sea at all stops, and go ashore in small boats. The sea is always choppy and it is difficult to get into and out of the boats. Yesterday when we came back from Iquiqui we had to perform like acrobats to get on the ship's ladder, and a wave caught me and slopped over one foot up to my knee. The sea is very deep off this coast—probably a volcanic valley to correspond with the Andes which rise abruptly from the shore. To get into the continent behind, railways have been built through the mountains. That going to La Paz climbs to over 15,000 feet and they keep pumps to fill the prostrated with oxygen, should they get the poona. What is that? Well, it's what you get! The pass going to the copper mines above Lima rises to 18,000 feet, and the miners work underground in an altitude of 16,000.<sup>42</sup>

It was a grievous disappointment to her that because of their inaccessibility she could not see any one of the four "wonders" of South America—the Iguassu Falls, the Chilean Lakes, the Christ of the Andes and Cuzco. Especially did she regret missing Cuzco. While a girl in her teens she had read Prescott's histories of the Spanish conquests and been fascinated by his description of the pre-conquest civilizations. Had it not been for the approaching congress of the Alliance in Rome which limited her time in South America, she would have made the trip into the lofty Andean region where the Inca Empire had flourished. Seeing her interest, at

<sup>42</sup> C. C. Catt to M. G. Peck, Iquiqui, Chile, February 23, 1923.

American woman living in Lima presented her with a little collection of relics which she had picked up. She happened one day to pass a place where workmen in excavating had cut into an ancient burial, and had piled the contents of the graves by the side of the road. She obtained permission to carry away some fragments of cloth and ears of Inca corn, which she now shared with Mrs. Catt. The ears were mostly small like pop-corn, well preserved, the kernels red, blue and yellow. Mrs. Catt was delighted to have several varieties, showing that corn cultivation was an ancient art even in Inca times. She inquired in Lima where the best collection of Peruvian antiquities was to be found, and was told it was in the Museum of Natural History in New York!

Her visit in Peru was the most enjoyable part of the South American journey, and that in spite of every known personal discomfort. At Mollendo, the first Peruvian port, she was met by a cable asking her to speak at a meeting of the American Woman's Club in the American Embassy at Lima, to which she cabled a favorable reply. Her reply was received two days after she had made the speech!

When the steamer entered the port at Callao, a launch carrying a group of these American clubwomen came out to meet her. They were wives and relatives of men in the various American missions which were in Peru at the invitation of the government, and they were young and full of life. They swarmed around their distinguished countrywoman and carried her and her party off to a hotel in Lima. They said it was awful but the best to be had. After settling them there, they swept away, saying they would return later. Afterwards it leaked out that they had gone as guests of the government to a bullfight! It was the nearest Mrs. Catt ever got—or wanted to get—to a bullfight.

They had a fine afternoon [she wrote]. The President was there and exceedingly sorry he had not known about us in time to invite us to his box. Nine horses were gored to death by the bulls, and six bulls were killed by the matadors. More, the chief matador was gored himself. This was on Sunday. The papers on Tuesday carried an interesting item to the effect that the President's aide had called on the wounded matador, who was doing



well, and then he called on Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt at the Hotel Maury! I call that fit evidence upon which to claim immortality!

I wish I could describe our hotel [she went on]. Our apartment, Rosa's and mine, consists of two rooms, one, the sitting room which has a large window with iron bars and a door opening upon the court occupied by the office, the salon and the water closets! The latter send their odors to us at every breath. All passers by were as much with us as though they had been in the room. The back room contained our beds and was lighted by six windows close together in a balcony overhanging the street. In the balcony was our washstand! At first we closed all the windows when we washed our hands, but later we just dodged. When we bathed (sponge only) we had to keep our eye on the street, the hotel boys and each other. The hotel was more unclean than usual. One woman recently insisted on having the carpet removed from her room. They assured her it was carefully swept every day, but she persisted and got it up. Under it were newspapers dated 1871!

We had a delightful time in Peru, but we could neither eat, sleep nor really bathe. We lived mostly on eggs, bananas and Jesus! "Jesus" is the name and the only name of a bottled Peruvian mineral water. We have only had good bread and butter at three places since I left New York in October. The bread is usually sour, partly because they like it so, partly because the cook usually has bad luck. The butter is in various stages of decay, the coffee and tea undrinkable. Result, a "figger" growing daily more sylphlike. Attached is the proof [a snapshot]. Here I am making a speech with the interpreter by my side who translated sentence by sentence. The thermometer was ranging around the 90's.<sup>43</sup>

She found greater difficulty starting an organization in Peru than in any other country visited. The exclusive and aristocratic upper class women, priding themselves on their Castilian blood, formed a close corporation.

The university and professional women were often of mixed blood, and therefore the ablest and most progressive group was outside the social pale of the Castilians, who held their heads high, as priestesses of the pure race, while their men were busily populating Peru with all kinds of black, yellow and brown babies outside the blue blooded home! The result was that the development of a truly national culture was greatly retarded. During the six days Mrs. Catt was in Lima, she spoke at eight women's meetings, one

<sup>43</sup> Letter, C. C. Catt to friends at home, en route Peru to Panama, March 6, 1923

of which was a tea attended by artistocrats only. Another was under the auspices of Evolucion Feminina, whose president, Señorita Alvarado Rivera, was of excellent family by birth and a democratic feminist by instinct. Her organization was the only one which advocated votes for women. Because the society made no distinction of race or color, the aristocrats would not join it. There was a large audience the day Mrs. Catt addressed it and several Indian women in native costume as well as many mestizos were present. At the close of her speech, one of the Indians came up to the platform along with others, but instead of shaking hands, with a broad smile she embraced Mrs. Catt and patted her on the back.<sup>1</sup>

The gathering of greatest importance to Mrs. Catt's mission took place in the main hall of the University of San Marco. This venerable institution was by far the oldest on the American continents, having been founded in 1551. The Minister from Cuba presided at the meeting which was attended by delegates from the leading women's organizations. At a conference following it, a society to work for the civil rights of women was organized. The person who played a leading part in haling the Peruvian aristocrats into the new society was Mrs. Frank Barrows Freyer, wife of the chief of the American Naval Commission, who seconded Mrs. Catt's efforts with the solid efficiency of a steam engine. The grateful and amused visitor had her doubts about the length of time the aristocrats would stay in, but she had a thoroughgoing admiration for Mrs. Freyer's talents as a go-getter.

The university buildings originally had been a beautiful old Jesuit convent, which was taken over by the government on the expulsion of the order and assigned to the university. Among the thousand students, at the time of Mrs. Catt's visit, only fifteen were girls and she was told there was no record of any woman of the aristocracy ever having matriculated. A few women physicians and dentists were practicing in Peru, there were several women's welfare organizations, a women's exchange, and an industrial women's organization took contracts for making clothing for the army. In general, there was less feminist sentiment here than was mani-

fested elsewhere in South America, less education and far greater class division among women

On the other hand, geographically, ethnically and historically, Peru was of supreme interest

You can not imagine [Mrs Catt wrote] how curious it seems, to be in a country with a really new race, [showing] Castilian features with occasional Negro wool, Indian or Chinese qualities, and generally with the straight hair of the Indian. They are in reality a merged race. At the penitentiary I did not see a white man except the chiefs. At the orphan asylum, I saw among the five hundred children two white ones. Alas, most of the orphans come afflicted with venereal disease and have to be treated at once. The sisters are certainly martyrs even if they are not very scientific. They are mostly French. After this trip I'm inclined to the opinion that the chief asset of the Catholic Church is its "sisters." Their institutions were invariably cleaner, more cheerful and human than the men's which were supposed to be more up to date.

Medieval Spain confronted her on every side in Lima in the Senate Chamber which formerly had been the Hall of Inquisition, on the frescoed walls of the room where her university meeting was held, in the cathedral where the shriveled body of Pizarro was on display in a glass case. The corpse was about the only thing left behind when Chilean soldiers looted the great pile of solid silver statues, altars, crucifixes and a wealth of jeweled vestments in the year 1883.

The strained relations between Peru and Chile which had existed ever since that time rendered a mission with which Mrs Catt—involuntarily—had been entrusted in Santiago one of considerable embarrassment. Mention has been made of an interview she had with President Alessandri of Chile. This liberal minded gentleman was in the precarious position of most South American executives but in view of the approaching Pan American conference in Santiago which rendered a revolution inopportune, he had been allowed to remain in office. In the middle of her interview with him, Mrs Catt was surprised by his request that she convey a message from him to President Leguia of Peru. She took it as a mere compliment until the earnest manner of Mr Alessandri implied something

more. Then she bethought her that Chile had no diplomatic relations with Peru and therefore no direct means of sending an official message. After arriving in Peru and learning that an interview with President Leguia had been arranged for her, her "message" began to weigh upon her. "It was an incident so foreign to all my experience that I felt rather overloaded with it," she confessed.

What Alessandri had asked her to say was that he was being severely criticized in Chile for having consented to arbitration of the Tacna-Arica dispute, and he was sure that Leguia was being criticized in Peru for the same reason, and that therefore they should stand together in supporting the arbitration. As a friendly overture, he suggested that Peru might send an official delegate to the Pan American conference. The Peruvian ruler, who was quite as precarious in his political position as was his Chilean neighbor, listened skeptically while Mrs. Catt delivered her message, to which he replied that when Chile stopped persecuting the Peruvians in Tacna-Arica, Peru would send delegates to the conference in Santiago! Then Leguia presented her with a signed photograph of himself, which she hung subsequently beside the signed photograph which had been presented by Alessandri among the collection of photographs of political personages which adorns the entrance hall of her home. It was with reluctance that she found herself forced to depart from Peru three days earlier than she had intended, for, outside of Lima, she had seen little of the archaeological treasures of the country.

On the voyage from Callao to Panama, she organized her findings on feminism in the southern continent in a series of articles written for *The Woman Citizen*. In the five countries visited, she had found a small woman's movement for political enfranchisement (small because the vote did not mean much down there anyway), accompanied by a larger movement for more liberal laws and economic opportunity. In no case had she found opposition on the part of governments to the enfranchisement of women, on the contrary, most of the chief executives interviewed expressed approval. In varying degrees each country, with the exception of Peru, showed

an advancing conception of the social status of women. It was in the field of education that she found most evidence of progress, since everywhere women were admitted to the universities, while in Uruguay, the most advanced of the South American countries, there was a woman's university. The east coast countries, being largely influenced by France, were not likely to enfranchise women until the latter country had taken that step.

On arriving in Panama the latter part of March, the party separated, Mrs. van Lennep and Miss Babcock continuing their journey homeward, while Mrs. Catt and Miss Manus were to stop for a few days. Mrs. Catt was joyfully greeted by Señora Ester de Calvo who had made great preparation for her visit. Mrs. de Calvo was the daughter of a former governor of Panama before its separation from Colombia, and now held an important position as head of the Girls' Normal School of Panama. She settled the guests in a hotel which seemed palatial after their late Peruvian caravansary, and on the afternoon of their arrival took them to a tea in Mrs. Catt's honor at the official residence of President Porras, head of the Republic. No town in the two Americas has a wilder history than Panama, for from the days of Drake and Hawkins it was the symbol of fabulous and fatal wealth. This dangerous reputation was largely due to the town's proximity to the Pearl Islands, for whose precious sea harvest it served as market. Señora Porras took Mrs. Catt for a day's outing to the islands, and to whet her interest in the trip showed her a magnificent black pearl which had been found in an oyster served at table on the occasion of her own first visit.

Señora de Calvo had a full program for her guests. There was a tea for Mrs. Catt at the American Minister's and she was taken to a grand ball given by President Porras in honor of the American Fleet. There were conferences and a meeting of the new suffrage association started by Señora de Calvo. Finally all was accomplished, and after a most friendly farewell from Señora de Calvo and her coworkers, the two travelers embarked on a Dutch freighter bound for Cherbourg.

At Curaçao, where the steamer put in for two days to take on cargo, Rosa Manus was surprised to find a little Amsterdam in the Gulf of Mexico. As Mrs. Catt watched the ship's cranes swing interminable sacks of coffee into the hold, she realized that they had left the world of nitrates for the fragrant world of coffee. From Willemstad they went to Puerto Cabello, Venezuela, for more coffee.

Here a decrepit Ford was the best conveyance they could find to take them on a thirty-five mile ride out to the hot springs of the region. The trail ran through a forest of immense trees covered with pink and crimson blossoms, past a swamp full of blue flowers, crossed streams by fording them, climbed precariously around heights which afforded views of surpassing grandeur. Nor was the rude highway untraveled. Continuous caravans of burrios heavily loaded with coffee crowded past them on the way to the port, single burros carrying a load with a lazy man on top of it, while women with huge burdens on their heads plodded patiently along behind, pigs, goats, sheep, chickens, dogs and naked children nibbled, slept or played in the only space kept permanently clear of the encroaching forest. Occasionally they passed one-room mud huts like those found all over South America, surrounded with a cactus fence. They met only one white man on the trip, a cadaverous and fever-bitten creature.

The next day they drove to Caracas over a 4,000-foot pass, from the summit of which they looked down upon the Venezuelan capital a thousand feet below in a vale surrounded on all sides by mountains, a magnificent scene. Because she had not known in advance that they were to make a stop at a Venezuelan port, Mrs. Catt had no introductions through which to establish connection with Venezuelan women, which she regretted.

Their stop at Trinidad was untroubled by similar regret, for the island was British and it wasn't her affair if they were slow in giving the women the vote there. The island proved a wonderland of strangeness and beauty, with its famous asphalt lake, trees ablaze with orchids, cows grazing in mahogany groves, high waterfalls and wonderful botanical gardens.

At last the steamer finished taking on cargo and started for Europe. During the voyage Mrs. Catt labored to compose her last presidential address for the congress of the alliance in Rome. Writing in mid-Atlantic, suspended between the new world and the old, she penned her valedictory, thus bringing to a conclusion, with one exception, her many missionary journeys for the suffrage movement.<sup>44</sup> She had visited every continent except Australia, and Australia did not need a missionary. She had kept no count of the miles she had traveled, or the money she had spent, or the meetings she had addressed, or the years and the vital energy consumed. The one part of her labors which interested her was the results.

<sup>44</sup> She made a visit to Cuba in the winter of 1924 when she spent two crowded weeks in Havana as the guest of Cuban women's organizations.

### *Retires from Presidency of the Alliance*

Arriving in Paris the middle of April, Mrs Catt had a week of bitter struggle with the Parisian milliners and dressmakers from which she emerged triumphant with several costumes and hats, all in various shades of blue<sup>1</sup> It was not the season for blue, and the distraction of the arbiters of fashion when it dawned on them that they were fitting out the woman who was going to preside in Rome over a congress of women from all over the world in an unrelieved succession of blue gowns is not to be described<sup>1</sup> They stormed, went around with a permanent shrug, but to no purpose For once she had all the blue clothes she wanted

Rosa Manus' parents came over from Amsterdam in their limousine to meet their daughter, and took her and Mrs Catt sightseeing between the battles with the costumers A letter from Rosa gives a glimpse of the festivities <sup>45</sup>

Father took us to the finest restaurants and CCC enjoyed the delicious food One evening we took her to the Casino de Paris, a most shocking real Paris vaudeville with a quantity of naked women She had never seen anything like that and I think it was good for her education

[Far from being shocked, CCC considered the nude figures, gilded to look like golden statues, appearing and disappearing in a forest setting like creatures in a legendary world, extremely beautiful]

On Monday, April 23, we arrived [in Rome] in a beautiful train de luxe and have been very busy The headquarters have not done anything nor for the [congress] program nor for the amendments, so the Chief has had to start from the beginning She is working like Hell

However, she is in very good health, looks very well and feels so happy at the idea she will soon be released from [the presidency] But in her heart I think she will feel it dreadfully, as after all the whole Alliance is Mrs Catt, and no one else feels the spirit and knows all about it Everybody is in despair and they do not know who to have

<sup>45</sup> R Manus to Clara Hyde, Rome, April 28-May 5, 1923



Although I would have loved to cuddle her up for a week at our lovely country home in Holland, I can quite imagine that the Chief is so longing to get home to her dear farm, her dear friends, that I try not to be disappointed. I have had her for eight lovely months and I ought to be grateful. She looks so happy and well I do hope she will return looking as she does now, if the congress won't take it all out of her again. She can't stand quite as much as formerly and gets sooner tired after a hard day's work.

The congress will be very well attended. Bertha Lutz is on her way as government delegate! Tonight, the Chief and I are going to see Mussolini. Yesterday, historic pictures have been made of her with the Coliseum, the Arc of Titus, etc. in the background.

Mrs Shuler, arriving as delegate to the congress wrote a letter home to the same effect.<sup>46</sup>

I have never seen her as lighthearted and gay as she is here. The lines of worry are all gone. She is somewhat thinner, but it is becoming. Rosa is always cheerful and that means a lot. We had tea with them in their rooms Monday at five-thirty—then went for an automobile ride along the Appian Way. I have seen her only once since Monday and that was just as she was leaving the hotel Tuesday morning for the Palazzo. There are many people to see her, the board meetings begin today, and she needs plenty of consideration shown her by the United States delegates, as the foreigners just hang on her. Rosa is a good one to act as protector.

On her arrival in Rome, Mrs Catt found that an appointment had been made for her to see Mussolini and that a delegation of Italian feminists would escort her to the Ministry of the Interior. As they walked along the middle of the street, Mrs Catt noticed that a personable young woman dressed in blazing red and carrying a slim parcel under her cape was walking along the sidewalk parallel with her. When they reached the Palace, the young woman pushed through the entrance ahead of the procession. This was wholly improper, and her behavior became more objectionable when the door leading from the anteroom into the great apartment which Mussolini used as his office was opened to admit the suffragists. Without hesitation, she entered with them and when Mussolini appeared she rushed forward dramatically and began to address him.

<sup>46</sup> N Shuler to C Hyde, Rome, May 8, 1923

before the leader of the delegation could say a word! Mrs Catt thought she was a crank and looked with concern at Mussolini, expecting him to be angered that the delegation had permitted the intruder to get in with them. To her surprise he was beaming with pleasure at the oration which the interloper was pouring forth while the suffragists stood idly on the side lines. At last with a flourish the speaker drew her parcel from under her cape and presented it to the Duce. It was the Fascist symbol, the ax in the midst of a bundle of rods, and the Duce took it with a complacent smile, returning thanks to the giver. The latter thereupon curtsied and without a glance at the delegation whose time she had usurped turned and strode from the room.

Mussolini laid the *fasces* on his desk and turned to the waiting women, whose leader presented Mrs Catt as their spokesman. The American had been studying the dictator during the preceding scene, and saw that he was tremendously susceptible to flattery although otherwise hard-boiled. In person he looked less ferocious than in his portraits, less Napoleonic and more the shrewd peasant. While the girl in red had used up a large part of the suffragists' time, she had put Mussolini into high good humor and he was still glowing as he turned to Mrs Catt. Briefly she stated the reasons why the Alliance was meeting in Rome, and presented the request that he honor the congress with his presence on the opening day. The suffrage leader was neither young nor dressed in red, but her striking presence and extraordinary magnetism commanded Mussolini's close attention. He understood English, although he could not speak it well, and in replying stated that he did not believe in unrestricted suffrage for men and therefore not for women either, that he would favor municipal suffrage for women "who deserved it," by which he probably meant Fascist women, and that he would accept the invitation to attend the congress.

During the interview Mrs Catt got the impression that six months in power had convinced Mussolini that he needed the support of women, especially in his relations with the Vatican. She was informed that a woman was editor of his paper, and a regular

contributor to *Popolo d'Italia*, his government organ, that she had been his confidante ever since his Socialist days and was said to be his only confidante, that she was a woman of affairs and had arranged the present interview. At the termination of the audience, the Italian ladies came away jubilant that their idol had justified their support of his government and their insistence in bringing the congress to Rome. Mrs. Catt felt that in consenting to attend the opening session of the congress, to be present at an official tea on the Palatine Hill, and to receive the congress when they presented resolutions to him at the close of the meetings, the Duce had done all that could be expected of him.

She was impressed by the changes that had taken place during the seven months since she was last in Rome. There were no beggars on the streets and there was an outward appearance of loyalty to the Fascist regime. She suspected that under the surface things might not be so loyal, and when somebody asked her opinion as to Mussolini's future prospects she replied that she would not be surprised to hear he had been assassinated. On the four occasions when she saw him, she thought he was under great nervous strain; she noted his quick scowl, observed his theatricality due partly to social malaise, partly to his Latin exuberance, and sized him up as something between a charlatan and a statesman.

When the congress opened, May 14, in Exposition Palace, the largest auditorium in Rome, every seat was taken and a crowd outside waited the arrival of the Duce. He came attended by a large suite and made the opening speech. In the course of it he announced "The Fascista Government will grant to several categories of women the right to vote, first in municipal, then in political elections." Tumultuous applause greeted the statement, which caused a genuine sensation, and there was a prolonged demonstration at the close of his address. Then he took a seat on the platform and listened to Mrs. Catt's address. Because of his presence, she had divided her speech into two parts, the second part to be given another day. The part given on this occasion was a review of the feminist movement since the postwar congress at Geneva, summa-

rising the advance of women in the forty nations represented at the present congress. Then she addressed the Duce directly

Your Excellency, Signor Mussolini, you are the most talked-of man in the world today. To millions of men you are a great hero. They tell us you stand for order, unity, patriotism, for a better and higher civilization in the world. We stand for education, for work and good wages, for better homes, scientific care of children, for abolition of the old codes of law which kept women in tutelage.

Of the thirty-two nations engaged in the World War, not one included among the aims to be achieved the righting of the wrongs of women. Nevertheless the greatest thing that came out of the war was the emancipation of women. No one aimed to see it, no one fought for it, yet it came.

As she went on reviewing the advance of women, continent by continent, nation by nation, knowing that she was addressing a man who did not believe in democracy, she stated facts and let them speak for themselves. "The most talked-of man in the world," looking with his great brow and gross jowl like one of the self-made Praetorian emperors, stared at her out of unmoving eyes until she was through. Then he rose, said his farewells, and left amid a tremendous ovation.

In the second part of her address, delivered on a subsequent occasion, she told of her South American trip, welcomed delegates from the new organizations in China, Japan, India, Egypt and Palestine, and outlined as she conceived them the four objectives toward which the Alliance should work in the immediate future. These were abolition of degrading civil codes which still oppress women, active support by women in the enfranchised countries of the movement in unenfranchised states, active leadership in the effort to educate women for political responsibility, consideration of the best means to get more women into parliaments. In announcing her retirement from office, after having served as president of the Alliance for the first twenty-one years of its existence, she thanked her collaborators for loyal and sympathetic support and entreated the same support for the succeeding administration. "I am not leaving the Alliance," she said amid deep silence, "I am merely returning

to the ranks to serve there for the rest of my life May we continue marching together to the end!"

Then, as she turned to the interpreters to proceed with the translation, the emotion of the delegates found expression They cried out to her not to retire, they cheered, many were weeping unrestrainedly They could not abide the thought of her giving place to another At last she raised her hand for silence and motioned the interpreters to go on

Delegations from thirty-two countries came to her in a body that evening urging her to stand again As one eyewitness expressed it, "they made such heart-breaking speeches," that their old leader felt her self-command leaving her and broke in, "Please, friends, do not say another word! I cannot bear it! It is best for every reason that you choose a new leader to go forward into the new age Underneath all you are saying you must realize that, so please say no more!" Maud Wood Park divined the emotion underlying her appeal and came to her relief Mrs Catt had given her life to their movement, she said To demand more of her was unfeeling and unbecoming They should accept her decision and do their best to carry on what she had begun

When it came to election she was made honorary president, with the title of Founder She was succeeded as president by Mrs Corbett Ashby, of Great Britain The new board of officers included many new names, as five members of the old board—Mrs Wicksell, Miss Furuholm, Miss Macmillan, Miss Rathbone and Mme Girardet-Vielle—retired with Mrs Catt Mrs Ashby was an excellent choice for incoming president She had attended the congresses of the Alliance ever since she was brought by her mother to the first one in Berlin in 1904, had been recording secretary since the Geneva congress, and had served as chairman of the Alliance Committee on Cooperation with the League of Nations As the headquarters of the Alliance was in London, she was the logical candidate for the chief office Although Mrs Catt had scrupulously refrained from influencing the election she was greatly pleased with its result Mrs Ashby was a Liberal in politics, an accomplished linguist as

well as a woman of charm and authority, and had had much experience in public affairs. When she took the gavel to preside over the congress, she did it with ease and dignity.

Many women prominent in political affairs addressed the congress. To mention only a few of them: Miss Furuhjelm was serving her fifth term in the Finnish Parliament, Bertha Lutz was holding office under the Brazilian Government, Dame Rachel Crowdy was serving in the League of Nations secretariat as was Dr. Luisi of Uruguay, while Mrs. Wicksell of Sweden was a member of the Mandates Commission. Competing with these women for attention were remarkable delegations from Egypt, Palestine, India and China. From Egypt came Mme. Hoda Charaoui to her first convention in the Western world. She was well known as a feminist in her own country, was a woman of wealth and education, but so far had not abandoned the veil. So thrilled was she by the Rome congress that she never donned the veil again.

Mussolini's government gave a tea for the congress delegates, staged on the Palatine Hill, in the very heart of ancient Rome, overlooking the Forum, surrounded by the ruins of the palaces of Augustus, Tiberius and the Vestals. On the last day of the congress, the Duce received the entire body of delegates at the Ministry of the Interior. Whatever his sentiments were about votes for women, he certainly did his duty by the Alliance congress in Rome.

Mrs. Catt was presented with a Golden Book at the close of the congress, containing tributes from her international collaborators. Among those who grieved most deeply at her withdrawal as presiding genius were the latest comers among its members. Among her greatest services to the organization had been her power to attract the young. She had an extraordinary fascination for them. The girls who acted as pages at the congresses, the students who sat in the gallery, girls who ran errands and took humble and thankless jobs on local committees adored her from afar, and she, seeing in them the leaders and workers of the future, singled them out for special thanks and individual attention. To these young

people—as one of them said, “The Alliance for us means Mrs Catt”—her retirement was a loss beyond expression

But the dynamic leader was terminating her period of feminist service as she wished, with a final accomplishment worthy of comparison with all that had gone before “From strength to strength advancing,” she had finished her course, and the time of her departure was come





PART VII

*Peace and Disarmament*



1.

*Valedictory to Suffrage*

It is not easy to wind up activities which have been going on for two generations. On the business side alone it was a sizable job, but Mrs. Catt felt an obligation to write her account of the suffrage struggle. In addition to the international activities just described, she was occupied during the three years following the adoption of the Nineteenth Amendment with the labor of clearing out the archives of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and making suitable distribution of historical material in them, getting Mrs. Harper's last two volumes of the *History of Woman Suffrage* published, and writing her own account of the political involvements which bedevilled the suffrage cause from start to finish.

She engaged Nettie R. Shuler to examine the archives. Much historical material was sent to the states which requested it, some was sent to the Congressional Library, and a dozen cases filled with New York State suffrage data were deposited in the New York City Public Library. For many months Mrs. Ida Husted Harper occupied an office in the national headquarters while she was completing the history. Nobody was better qualified than Mrs. Harper to finish the work begun by Mrs. Stanton, Miss Anthony and Matilda Joselyn Gage in the eighties, and continued by herself up to the year 1900. Age had slowed her pen and it took considerable prodding to keep it moving, but the work was completed with the publication of the fifth and sixth volumes of the *History of Woman Suffrage* in 1922.

Mrs. Catt asked Mrs. Shuler to collaborate with her in writing *Woman Suffrage and Politics*. She had to write the book the summer she was preparing for her South American Tour, and she re-

quested Mrs Shuler to write chapters dealing with events with which the latter had been particularly associated. As soon as the Pan American Women's Conference in Baltimore came to an end in the spring of 1922, Mrs Catt settled down to her book. She was living at Juniper Ledge where she entertained several of the South American delegates before they sailed for home. Otherwise she secluded herself for the task in hand. The speed with which she wrote was incredible to the meticulous Mrs Harper. Chapter after chapter poured from her pen in longhand for the stenographer to copy during June and July.

*Woman Suffrage and Politics* bears the hallmark of being stuck off at one heat and high speed, for it has the vividness of improvisation even while being fully documented. *The Literary Digest* said of it

As a piece of historical writing this is a mighty good book, and one which in the future can not easily be separated from the historical development of our country. It has quality, temperament, a certain kind of feminine, philosophical charm, and a courage in the writing which is highly to be commended.

The reviewer adds regretfully that the authors are "a little too hard on the men!"

As stated in the preface by the authors, the purpose of the book is to provide an explanation of the fact that "twenty-six other countries gave the vote to their women while America delayed." Summarized, the explanation follows

It was not an antagonistic public sentiment, it was the control of public sentiment through the trickery, the buying and selling of American politics. Suffragists consider that they have a case against certain combines of interests that systematically fought suffrage with politics and delayed it for years.

In answer to the objection that people who participate in a movement are incapable of writing dispassionately about it, the preface remarks

History would be worthless if it took no account of the observations made within a movement by those who have had a part in it. That is why we who have had an opportunity to become acquainted with the facts which

throw light upon the political aspects of the woman suffrage movement feel impelled to pass our knowledge on to others Documents decline in interest for the general public as the movement they chronicle recedes into the past, but the facts and deductions drawn from them and here assembled, should prove of significance to the advocates, especially the women advocates, of each recurring struggle in the evolution of democracy

The book treats of seventy-two years of suffrage campaigning, and of the interlocking of suffrage with politics during fifty-five of those years It releases sentiments which had boiled under repression in the breasts of the authors until it was safe to lift the lid It is at once a summary, an interpretation and a valedictory upon a new statement of democracy With the material of the unwritten book taking shape in her mind, Mrs Catt gave a course of lectures at Bryn Mawr College in the fall of 1921, opening the memorial lectureship in honor of Anna Howard Shaw which was established by President M Carey Thomas

The great event of these first years after ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment was the first nation-wide election in which women participated Thirty million votes were cast in the Presidential election in comparison with the eighteen million cast in the Presidential election of 1916 In New York State owing to the efforts of the women and the drys Senator Wadsworth ran 700,000 votes behind his ticket, and except for its being Presidential year would have been defeated

The exasperation of the Republican organization at the feminine opposition to Wadsworth was directed principally against the League of Women Voters, although the League had taken no official stand against the senator's candidacy Another thing which put the League in bad standing with the state administration was an exceedingly outspoken report on the Daly Lobby and its activities in the Legislature in opposition to the welfare measures supported by the League This report was drawn up by the legislative committee of the League and given to the press and created a great stir

On the heels of this report, the League assembled in Albany for its annual convention, and invited Governor Nathan Miller to

address the convention banquet. The Governor was ill with influenza the day he was to speak, but he rose from his bed and brought his temperature with him to the banquet hall. Among other things, he told his hearers

There is no need for a League of Women Voters any more than for a League of Men Voters. I have a very firm conviction that any organization which seeks to exert political power is a menace to our institutions unless it is organized as a political party. Our institutions are so framed that party government is essential to their perpetuity, and a two-party system, if our representative system is to endure, is needed.<sup>1</sup>

Having thus spoken, the Governor swept from the room accompanied by his two secretaries who had taken down his words as they fell from his lips and relayed them to expectant reporters outside in the corridor. His astounded hearers sat gazing after him in silence. Mrs. Frank Vanderlip, president of the New York State League, turned to Mrs. Catt who was sitting beside her and asked her to comment on the Governor's speech.

Of course Mrs. Catt knew that the Governor was smarting from the fact that the women seemed to think they could get what they wanted without working through the parties and she was secretly amused at his heat. Woman suffrage had been the football of politics for a good many years and it gave her a good deal of satisfaction to see the shoe on the other foot for once. She spoke plainly and without hesitation.

While it is true that ours is a government by parties, it is not the whole truth. The parties administer the government, but evolution is compelled by groups. I can recall no important change in our institutions which has been brought about by party initiative, and I can think of no policy more certainly destructive of normal progress than the dissolution of reform organizations.

The Republican Party was a group before it was a party. No party adopts an idea until it believes it will gain more votes than it will lose by it—that is, not until the idea has already been made popular by a group. The League of Women Voters aspires to be a part of the big majorities which administer our government, and it also wishes to be one of the minorities which agitates and educates and shapes ideas today which the majority will adopt tomorrow.

Free thought, free speech, freedom of organization and political action are cornerstones of American liberty—yet we have heard a group acting under these guaranties called a menace! It will indeed be a menace when any one of these rights is denied. There are groups which are menaces, but they are not those which are trying to improve our civilization, they are those corporate groups which by the use of money have controlled legislation and parties for their own selfish and sinister ends. The League of Women Voters should and will go forward until it knows its work is done!

Next day, from one end of the country to the other Governor Miller's attack on the League and the spirited reply by its founder were front page news. Daunted by the publicity he had courted, the Governor claimed he had been misrepresented, but as he had brought his secretaries along to take down his remarks for the reporters, he could not well repudiate them.

In the spring, Mrs. Catt went to Cleveland for the second annual convention of the National League of Women Voters. She had called at the same time a meeting of the executive council of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. It was understood that this was to be the final meeting of the historic organization which, with the exception of the Civil War years, had been holding annual conventions since 1850. The old suffrage workers looked forward to their farewell to arms with emotion, and when they assembled in a sunny room of the Hotel Statler every available seat was taken.

Mrs. Catt called the meeting to order and requested final reports. The treasurer's report was sent in by Mrs. Henry Wade Rogers, who was too ill to come and whose death occurred not long afterwards. A summarized report of the immense sums disbursed by the Leslie Commission during the last years of the amendment campaign, of the generous subsidies granted to the International Alliance and the League of Women Voters, and the amount spent for the purchase and publication of *The Woman's Journal* and *The Woman Citizen* was submitted by Mrs. Catt as chairman of the Leslie Commission. Here for the first time was presented a complete picture of the inestimable contribution made by Mrs. Frank Leslie to the cause of woman throughout the world when she willed

the residue of her estate to the suffrage leader Mrs Shuler gave the final secretary's report, Esther Ogden reported for the National Suffrage Publishing Company It was then proposed by Mrs Catt that the suffrage association instead of disbanding should continue its existence until 1940, when the articles of incorporation would expire, and the suggestion was officially adopted Certainly the last thing any of them could have had in mind was the thing that actually was to occur, namely that a new tyranny was to arise by 1940 which would try to wipe out democratic institutions everywhere, and that they would vote to extend their articles of incorporation until the year 1975<sup>1</sup>

They thought they were witnessing the conclusion of the movement to which they had given the best years and energies of their lives, and in those last moments before it passed into history it stood out before them as their supreme achievement Their beloved leader with perfect feeling for the difficult moment was speaking the valedictory

As I look back over our years of work together, there is nothing thrilling about them It was just long, grilling, unceasing, hard labor Future historians perhaps may make heroines out of some of us, for it is true that many women have given their entire lives to our cause Certainly living for a high purpose is as honorable as dying for it The fight that you and I were in together was its own reward, for those who had a part in it would not give up that memory for anything else in life<sup>1</sup>

Those last words were literally true There was something about the crusade for the vote which kindled women to mass action as nothing else has been able to do

That night, at a League of Women Voters mass meeting in Masonic Hall, Mrs Catt forgot that she had finished her course, and suddenly betook herself into another crusade Maud Wood Park was presiding. A huge audience had assembled to hear three speakers—Judge Florence Allen, Will Irwin and the retiring suffrage leader Irwin told of scenes he had witnessed as a war-correspondent It was a hard-boiled story on the surface, but white-hot underneath and he was carried by his earnestness beyond his



allotted time Mrs Park was about to call time on him when Mrs Catt laid a detaining hand on her arm Irwin heard the slight rustle behind him, glanced at his watch and concluded his address.

Hardly waiting for Mrs Park to introduce her, Mrs Catt laid her manuscript on the reading desk

I had prepared a speech on politics for tonight, [she began] but I am not going to give it After the speech to which we have just listened there is something far more fitting to be said than what I came prepared to say

Then began an extraordinary scene The press table was below the rostrum directly in front of her, and one or two reporters scribbled a descriptive note Then they sat rigid as though they had been hit by a high voltage current Now and then one would make a frantic note but for the most part they simply stared at the speaker.

There isn't an audience in this country or any other country, [she was saying] where an appeal for peace does not stir the hearts of the people as our hearts have just been stirred There isn't anybody in all the world who would say he wants another war There isn't anybody who does not want peace on earth But how are we going to get it? We won't settle that question by having a million points of view while we sit around waiting for somebody else to act!

It is a curious kind of psychology that is upon our nation in the matter of international cooperation This country I believe signed the first recorded arbitration treaty We were leaders in it Well then, we should be leaders today! But our nation today won't lead and won't follow Today, there isn't anybody in the world who knows what we are going to do—least of all do we ourselves know! And I ask you—is there anybody, anywhere, at this moment with an earnest crusading spirit who is campaigning to arouse America to leadership? Oh, no! We are as stolid and indifferent and inactive as though there were not facing us the greatest question that ever confronted the nations of the earth

It is difficult for anyone here to believe what has been the result of the war on the other side It is not possible to comprehend it without seeing it for oneself Over there they are trying to pull their ruins together, trying to build up their old life on their bad money, bad feelings, bad economic conditions Compared with them, we here are living in paradise!

She spoke of America's turning away from the League of Nations and of the nation's duty to compel a different attitude on the part of the government

There isn't anything that can't be done in this country as the result of popular demand, for popular opinion is the real government *The people in this room tonight could put an end to war if they would set themselves to it!* Let us put an end to this aloofness, this deadly silence! We can do it! This is an infinitely greater call than any of us ever will hear again. I say to you women in particular. You know that war is in the blood of men, they can't help it. They have been fighting since the days of the cave men, and to them there is a sort of honor about it. God is calling to the women of the world to come forward and stay the hands of men, and to say to them, "No! *You shall no longer kill your fellow men!*"

It is impossible to describe the effect of this appeal—white-hot from beginning to end. It was like being taken for a ride in the chariot of fire. "The people in this room tonight could put an end to war if they would set themselves to it," was not just one of those statements. It was the wind that blew over the Valley of Dry Bones. Years afterward, Will Irwin said of the speech, "It was such an eloquent denunciation of war and all its works as I had never heard in any language."<sup>47</sup>

Anna Steese Richardson in a magazine article discussing the lukewarmness of women's organizations on the peace question referred to the Cleveland speech

I can still hear the tremendous applause that followed that appeal, I can still see women wiping away their tears. . . . in solemn promise to heed the warning uttered by this great woman. . . . Mrs. Catt might say that the best years of her life went into the campaign for woman suffrage, but she still remains the only woman who can literally lift a mass meeting to its feet, who can transform a slogan into a prayer.

Certainly the Cleveland speech was a decisive moment in her life. At the age of sixty-two, when she considered herself burnt out, the inexorable inner voice spoke to her again and she obeyed without reservation.

<sup>47</sup> Quoted in Inez Haynes Irwin's *Angels and Amazons*

*The Cause and Cure of War, 1925*

Three years passed after the Cleveland speech before Mrs. Catt was free to work for peace and disarmament. During that time she finished her international suffrage work and made the tour of South America. In April, 1924, the National League of Women Voters was holding a lively convention in Buffalo. Maud Wood Park was retiring as president of the League, and Belle Sherwin was succeeding her. Among the delegates was Mrs. Ben Hooper of Wisconsin, who had not forgotten Mrs. Catt's Cleveland speech, and who came to Buffalo filled with the idea that the women's organizations which had peace and disarmament among their objectives should get together on a common peace program. Together, they had a membership of some five million women, and if they undertook a concerted educational project, it would reach every corner of the land. As soon as she reached Buffalo, Mrs. Hooper went with her idea to Mrs. Catt who encouraged her to go ahead with it. A number of women prominent in other organizations were attending the League convention and were emphatic in approving it. It was their unanimous opinion that Mrs. Catt was the one woman whom all the organizations would accept as leader.

Mrs. Catt was asked to present the plan to the organizations. She felt unequal to undertaking so large a task as this promised to be without definite assistance, and before giving consent, she asked Josephine Schain if she could count on her to act as secretary of the committee which it was proposed to form. Josephine Schain had been one of the young organizers in the suffrage movement, and was now living in New York at the Henry Street Settlement. She was a native of Minnesota, a graduate of the University of Minnesota, and in addition to being a young woman of excellent

parts and practical experience she had a profound respect and admiration for her former chief. She consented without hesitation to give her services to a movement the importance of which she at once recognized. Being thus assured of working assistance, Mrs. Catt consented to put the proposal to hold a joint conference on peace and disarmament before the departmented women's organizations of the country, and as soon as she returned home from Buffalo went ahead with preliminaries.

Nine of the largest and most important organizations agreed to cooperate.<sup>48</sup> Before they could issue the call for their meeting, a name for it had to be chosen, and this is always an operation demanding long and deep thought. They looked through the titles of the seventy-odd peace societies in the country, found something wrong with all of them, and finally in desperation decided to call their project a "Conference on the Cause and Cure of War," and to call the executive committee the "Committee on the Cause and Cure of War."<sup>1</sup> People might laugh, they said—they did!—but this was an exactly descriptive title. After a few mild attempts at ridicule, the public accepted the name and boiled it down to "Cause and Cure," by which it was popularly known.

Having gotten up conventions for a generation, Mrs. Catt was prepared to have worries in connection with local arrangements in Washington, where the meeting was to be held. The missionary societies had nominated Mrs. William Darby as head of this important committee, and as Mrs. Catt was not acquainted with her she invited her to come to New York for consultation. When Mrs. Darby appeared—middle-aged, consecrated, brisk, with a hearty laugh and an all-seeing eye, knowing Washington past, present and future as it is known to the recording angel—Mrs. Catt had the surprise of her life. All local arrangements were made for the

<sup>48</sup> The cooperating societies were: The American Association of University Women, Council of Women for Home Missions, Women's Board of Foreign Missions, General Federation of Women's Clubs, National Council of Jewish Women, National League of Women Voters, Women's Christian Temperance Union, National Women's Trade Union League, Young Women's Christian Association. Later three more organizations joined: National Women's Conference of American Ethical Union, National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, National Home Demonstration Council.

conference, committees were appointed and so on Mrs Darby was now prepared to discourse on the relative merits and prices of headquarters and halls for the meetings'

After she had gone back to Washington, Mrs Catt wrote to Mrs Hooper,—

Mrs Darby is terribly competent! It is a pity we didn't have her in suffrage days Washington was always such a hopeless place that I supposed we would have to do most of the arrangements ourselves But she is going to do the whole thing for us as we never had it done before I repeat that I am amazed at the preliminary arrangements already made'

The first conference on the Cause and Cure of War assembled in January, 1925, in the Hall of Nations at the Washington Hotel, and the delegates sat beside their standards for six days of three sessions a day No attempt was made to soften the rigors of the program The only interval of recreation came on the last day when the four hundred and sixty-three delegates were received at the White House by President and Mrs Coolidge—and even then they stood in a semicircle in the East Room and listened to a twenty-minute review of America's peace record which was patiently read to them by the President At the end of the conference, the delegates voted unanimously to recommend the plan for united action to their respective organizations and to hold another conference a year later The plan was accepted, and from that time until the Second World War came as terrible proof of the urgency of their appeal, the women's organizations carried on an unremitting campaign to rouse America to join other nations of like mind in putting an end to world disorder, and establishing world peace

### 3.

#### *Honors and Brickbats*

The Cause and Cure of War conference caused a commotion similar to that which greeted the advent of the League of Women Voters, five years before. The women's patriotic societies held a meeting in Washington shortly afterward, and condemnation of the "Cause and Cure" took so offensive a tone that the *New York World* sharply reprimanded the patrioteers in an editorial entitled, "Stifling Free Speech"

One of the speakers, referring to Mrs. Catt's occupancy of the chair, had the effrontery to say, "Even the sun hid its head in shame over the nature of the Catt convention." Other speakers alleged that the conference was held solely to disseminate propaganda for the League of Nations. Still another alleged that one of the delegates had carried a red flag in a parade in Chicago.<sup>40</sup> Such charges and cheap ridicule are disgraceful. The chief grievance of these ladies and gentlemen was that the conference sought means to abolish the sanctified business of war. Is this, then, a crime?

A resolution censuring the pacifism of women's organizations was passed by the New York State Chapter of American War Mothers, at the conclusion of an inflammatory address by Captain George Darté. Darté according to press reports charged Mrs. Catt and other leaders with "Carrying women's organizations along into ideas verging on communism," which "would hamstring war, scrap the navy, and do away with the 'Star Spangled Banner'!"<sup>41</sup>

Rear Admiral Fiske was another critic who, in a speech delivered in the Church of the Heavenly Rest, upbraided the peace-makers. He said the effeminization of our country was responsible for the unpreparedness with which we entered the World War.

<sup>40</sup> Report in *New York Times*, *New York Tribune*, *New York Evening Sun*, Feb. 25, 1925.

He cited Germany, Russia and Japan as strong, virile nations over against England, France and the United States as effeminized. When asked how we could get virile again, he responded gloomily

Nothing can be done, or if it can I don't know what it is. No man respects and admires women more than I do, but some women have faults and the fault most commonly found is a seemingly insatiable desire to interfere in matters they do not understand. War they understand least and from it they instinctively recoil. There is danger in this situation. Women now have the vote and outnumber the men. There must be some action by the men which will bring women to realize that it is for their comfort and protection that all wars are fought. It is to the interest of women that they permit men to obtain the necessary armament. Only in this way can they be assured of the comfort and protection they need. In spite of themselves we must protect the ladies!

Mrs. Catt could appreciate the Admiral's position. War was his business and peace was not. Nor did the other attacks worry her. They came from the same old antifeminist combination that had been bringing railing accusations against her for years. She would have thought something was wrong if they stopped railing. Her name appeared twice in the index of the report of the "Joint Legislative Committee Investigating Seditious Activities," commonly known as the Lusk Committee, set up by the New York Legislature. The peace movement was given prominent place among the seditious activities listed by that unsavory forerunner of the Dies Committee of a later period.

Contrasting with the attacks on her as a pacifist, were public honors conferred on her as suffrage leader during these years. The University of Wyoming gave her the first honorary degree conferred by it, citing her as "the chief living exponent of equal suffrage." Her own Alma Mater, Iowa State College, likewise honored her, and a year or two later Smith College bestowed the LL.D. degree. Her long and successful career spoke for her with an eloquence no spiteful detractor could match.

Death was taking great toll of public men at this time as her editorials in *The Woman Citizen* show. Men who had played great

parts in the days of the World War were already receding into obscurity. The passing of Woodrow Wilson was like the departure of a legendary figure of another age—hardly less remote than that of Lenin which preceded it by a few days. Lenin was more fortunate than Wilson in that he could leave his great idea to men who believed in it to the death. Wilson's great idea was left to irresolute and skeptical men. Mrs. Catt's grave estimate of the War President is worth quoting:

Woodrow Wilson was a great man, history will not deny him that status and no enemy can. It is the fate of the great in political life to be criticized, condemned and hated. It is the mediocre who are popular. The more complicated the period of service of great men, the more they are hated. In such a period as the Great War, practically every incident and certainly every act of the government in our own and in all other countries became bitterly controversial, and called forth ferocious denunciations of those who were responsible. But the evidence has been recorded, and those who come after, with minds undisturbed by party or factional prejudice, will read, weigh, and consider.

Both parties have their liberal and conservative wings. When Mr. Wilson became Governor of New Jersey, he did so as the victor of liberalism over conservatism, graft and bossism in that state. When he became President, it was the liberal wing of the Democratic Party that was put in charge of the government. The conservatives of neither party would have been satisfied at best with results, but the Great War furnished every one with a special grouch against fate which emphasized the normal displeasure.

Time, the great adjuster, will write the truth. From the beginning until 1924, Washington, the Father of his Country and man of no party, Lincoln, the Saviour of his Country and greatest of Republicans, Wilson, the Patriot of far vision and greatest of Democrats, have been the mightiest souls in the leadership of this nation.

A few months later, Wilson's political and personal enemy, Henry Cabot Lodge, made his exit—a weary, disillusioned old man who had entered politics as a progressive and retired as a reactionary. About the same time, Senator Brandegee committed suicide. Thus were removed three men who had figured prominently in the Congressional struggle not only over the League of Nations and World Court, but also over the Nineteenth Amendment. And the



amendment itself, like the famous men and women who had opposed and defended it, was receding into the past

Women's organizations were very much in evidence in the spring of 1925 in the City of Washington. Two international conventions and three national ones were held there in close succession. Mrs. Corbett Ashby, President of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, and several other Europeans came to the congress of the International Council of Women. A number of women from Central and South America were present at the second Pan American Women's Conference. The Association of University Women and the League of Women Voters also were holding their conventions. The spectacle of all this international feminism appalled the patriotic and other organizations which at that time were at the peak of their crusade against "subversive activities," and they made a to-do about it in the press.

Because most of the foreign delegates to the Council of Women could not afford the expense of the trip to America, the American Council as the hostess of the congress contributed their traveling expenses. It was done quite openly and innocently, but the "patriots" pounced on it as a "subversive" proceeding. The foreign visitors on arriving in this country to their bewilderment found themselves met by a lot of grinning reporters who wanted to know whether they were subsidized by the League of Nations or the Soviets! The Daughters of the American Revolution withdrew the use of their hall for the Council meeting, which had to seek another auditorium. By this time, the Council officers were so flustered by the attacks on them as "pacifists in disguise" that they ruled all peace publications off the display tables at the congress, and Mrs. Henry Villard had to take her table of anti-war pamphlets down in the basement! When a resolution was introduced in favor of "simultaneous international disarmament," there was a violent debate which finally ended with a battered resolution getting through, recommending disarmament as "an ideal to be aimed at"—a singularly appropriate phrase!

Mrs Catt was down for an address at the congress, and she offered a public apology to the foreign delegates for the insulting attitude toward them displayed by an ill-mannered faction

It is only a minority, [she said] but they are afraid as no American ever was afraid before! They especially fear two institutions in Europe, the League of Nations and Soviet Russia! They believe that the League is formed to disarm the world, and that Russia is helping that propaganda. They believe that all the peace societies in this country are financed from Moscow, and that every one who sees a vision of a warless world is a traitor to his country! Without doubt you have come to this country at an unfortunate moment, for this mood will pass

There is another minority here which has a clear conviction that war is a barbarism, whose abolition is long overdue. What you have seen is but the fireworks of attack by one minority upon the other

Her apology with its scornful characterization of the "patriots" did much to clear the air, but it did not dissipate her anger at their tactics. She was unconsciously getting ready for the real show-down which came later. She met with the Pan American delegates from nine countries who talked over their problems in the beautiful Pan American Building for four days. At Miss Catt's suggestion, the Leslie Commission made a substantial contribution to the treasury to start the organization on its way under its new title, adopted at this time, "Inter-American Union of Women."

A business meeting of the executive council of the old suffrage association was called by Mrs Catt in Washington while the members were in the city in attendance on one or more of the conventions previously mentioned. At this time Miss Hay reported the placing of the last two volumes of the *History of Woman Suffrage* in libraries throughout the country. Mrs Shuler told of the disposition of the suffrage archives. Mrs Stanley McCormick proposed that a portrait of Mrs Catt be painted to be hung with Miss Anthony's in the Smithsonian Museum. Helen Gardener told of the suffrage historical exhibit which she had been instrumental in placing in the Smithsonian, including the table on which the Seneca Falls Declaration of 1848 had been written, many documents of interest, Miss Anthony's Indian shawl, suffrage pictures and letters, and the pen used in signing the Nineteenth Amendment.

Mrs Gardener did not speak in public often and when she did she was listened to with unusual interest, as she was on this occasion, which proved her valedictory. Her death which occurred a few weeks later was deeply felt by all who knew her. Her real name was Alice Chenoweth, "Helen Gardener" being the "solid and sensible" pen name adopted by her when she began to write sociological novels and controversial articles on sex hygiene and the single standard of morals in the days when these subjects were generally taboo. She was the daughter of a Virginia clergyman who in ante bellum days freed his slaves and moved to Ohio. She was a precocious and brilliant girl, for at the age of nineteen she was made head of the Ohio State Normal School. Aroused over the opposition to higher education for women—on the alleged ground that their brains could not stand the strain—she consulted leading brain specialists of the period and then wrote a monograph, "Sex in Brain," which put an end to the brain inferiority argument and was translated into several languages. She lived abroad with her husband for some years, and was decorated by the governments of France and Japan. During the latter years of her life, her value as liaison officer between the national suffrage association and three successive administrations in Washington was inestimable. When she was appointed to the Civil Service Commission by President Wilson—first woman to be so honored—the Senate confirmed the appointment unanimously.

It was a painful ordeal for Mrs Catt and Maud Wood Park to speak at Mrs Gardener's funeral. The suffrage leader dwelt upon her friend's dominant quality—courage. She quoted from a letter she had received from Mrs Gardener shortly before her death:

I am not afraid to die. I never was. I have lived my life as well as I could day by day, and base my future upon my past. Whenever I am called I am ready, and I have always been ready. Whatever comes, I will accept.

Referring to Mrs Gardener's challenge to the brain-inferiority argument, Mrs Catt commented:

That argument, that obstacle in the way of girls, has disappeared. You who are younger never encountered it, you found the doors open and

now it is a forgotten episode, yet it was Helen Gardener who blazed that trail

I have been thinking of that great man who has just passed and who is to be buried in Arlington, too. It is a man's world and he had leadership among men. I knew Mr. Bryan quite well and admired his great power, his sincerity, his marvellous oratory. And yet when I review his life, it seems to me that every cause he espoused was adopted by him after some one else had blazed the trail. He then took his place with confident courage, and often assumed leadership. Helen Gardener blazed her own trails, and when things were moving as she wished, she moved on and blazed another. I do not think that those who knew her only in the latter years of her life realized how masterful she had been, for she was over-modest about all her achievements.

In a letter written from Washington the evening of the funeral, Mrs. Catt said <sup>50</sup>

I came down to speak at Helen Gardener's funeral. Maud Wood Park and I and two Civil Service Commissioners did the services. Then Maud and I had dinner together, and she is now on her way back to Maine. I am feeling lonely. Maud and I loved Helen very much, and we were proud that neither of us broke down in tears. She is to be buried at Arlington by the side of her soldier husband <sup>51</sup>. Washington never will seem the same again. She was one of the world's wonders. She was seventy-two and looked not a day over fifty. Bryan was sixty-five and looked seventy-five. Both hearts failed.

The League of Women Voters celebrated the fifth anniversary of the Nineteenth Amendment in August of that summer by turning it into a demonstration throughout the nation for American adherence to the World Court, at which time Mrs. Catt spoke over the radio, making a strong appeal for the Court. A tentative effort was made about this time to have the great peace foundations and other organizations supporting the World Court hold a joint conference in Washington similar to the "Conference on the Cause and Cure of War," but some of the leading societies were cool to the idea. Mrs. Catt wrote Mr. James G. McDonald, head of the exploratory committee.

If the big-wigs will not cooperate, try the half-and-half men and women's societies. Borah alone and single-handed may be able to hold the na-

<sup>50</sup> Letter to M. G. Peck, July 28, 1925.

<sup>51</sup> Colonel Selden A. Day.

tion at bay on this question because the World Court forces are as unorganized as a cage of white mice!

The conference did not materialize. The fatal lack of dynamic unifying leadership at this critical hour in postwar developments let the favorable moment pass when perhaps the United States might have been swung back into the system of world cooperation for law and order. The dynamic Wilson had given place to the colorless Coolidge. There was nothing for it now but the long, slow process of changing the mind of the nation from bottom to top.

At the end of the summer, Mrs. Catt with some two hundred industrialists, exporters, educators and missionaries attended a conference on American relations with China, which met at Johns Hopkins University. They were housed in the dormitories during the three-day conference, and held their meetings in the Graduate School. They chose from day to day the topics to be discussed and the persons to discuss them. The old suffrage leader did not think much of this hand to mouth business, but she had a diverting time.

The writer has a vivid recollection of Mrs. Catt's description of this meeting on her return to Juniper Ledge. It was a cool September evening when she reached home, and while the windows of the living room were open, a fire was blazing in the fireplace. Among the group by the fireside were Harriet Taylor Upton and Elizabeth Hauser, and of course Miss Hay. Mrs. Catt just off the train poured forth a most amusing description of her fellow conferees, and what they said and did. She told how several committees were appointed at the beginning and never were heard of again. "I was chairman of one of them," she interpolated, "and you should have seen how surprised the conference was when I insisted on bringing in a report!" "At the end of two days," she went on, "we had reached these conclusions: 'The Chinese are a reasonable, lovable people, their demands are just and their aspirations are worthy—but they cannot be granted.'" By the end of the third day, the economists and the business magnates had got tired and gone home, and then the rest of us voted that the United States should lead in granting the Chinese demands!"

Her animation was used up when she reached the end of her story, her friends saw that she was tired and went on talking among themselves. Presently somebody remarked, "How plainly we can hear the crickets!" and in the pause following, the listeners became aware of the profound stillness of the night, pervaded by the crickets' autumn song and the sound of the near-by stream in its rocky ravine. Her friends were thinking how good it was for her to have this peaceful home to retreat to, when they were startled to hear her say that she had decided to sell Juniper Ledge! It was too far from New York, she said, Miss Hay did not like the country, it was hard to keep domestic help, the care and expense of a Westchester estate were too great. Finally, she had high blood-pressure and the doctors warned her to arrange her life on an easier scale. As they listened, it dawned upon her friends with an indescribable pang that Old Age at last had come knocking at the door of that high and valiant spirit.

She went on a lecture trip in behalf of the World Court and Kellogg Pact that fall, stood it fairly well and undertook another series in the winter. On the second trip she got as far as Minneapolis, where she developed ear abscesses and could go no further. Miss Marguerite Wells took her into her home and gave her every care until she was able to return to New York. These experiences made her give up lecture tours. She spent the summer of 1926 at Juniper Ledge with Miss Hay, both of them in wretched health. Miss Mary Foote, the artist, was painting the official portrait of the suffrage leader which Mrs. Stanley McCormick had commissioned her to make—and which incidentally Mrs. McCormick paid for—and Mrs. Catt went to the artist's studio in New York for a sitting every week while it was in progress. There was no elevator in the studio building, and as it was hard for her to walk up several flights of stairs Miss Foote placed a chair on each landing so that she might rest on the way up. She posed in a dress of the clear blue she loved, wearing the star sapphire brooch and Lady Astor's sapphire ring. The artist presents her as she looked at the height of her career. The impression of beauty, nobility and power which

she conveyed are all present in the portrait, but her charm, her humor and gaiety are not registered in that regal figure in the throne-like chair

A letter written toward the end of the summer tells how she had put in her time

I was literally weak the early part of the summer, had neither strength nor spirit. Nettie Shuler was here, and we read aloud all that awful book [*Woman Suffrage and Politics*] for errors. There is to be a new edition and we want to make some changes. I have been to Philadelphia to celebrate August 26, [sixth anniversary of the Nineteenth Amendment] and have written my little *Citizen* articles, and kept up declinations to speak, etc. Then the working members of the Cause and Cure Committee went to Europe [to attend the Paris Congress of the International Alliance] and I've been running their office. As a result there is likely to be another conference ["Cause and Cure"] December 5-10. All we need now is some money to pay bills, some speakers to pay it to, and some delegates to hear the speakers. That is not so bad for a summer's rest, is it? . I am much stronger and more vigorous. We are planning now to leave immediately after the conference to go to Arizona where it is dry for a couple of months. Then to California about February 15, to look over that territory to learn whether we would like to live a little longer and do it there, or a little shorter and do it here. This is an experiment. If I am unable to shake off the neuritis by climate, I might as well stay here where it has been foggy, humid and queer all summer.<sup>52</sup>

The election that fall, which among other results retired James W. Wadsworth from the United States Senate, brought considerable satisfaction to Mrs. Catt and Mary Garrett Hay. When the press interviewed them, Mrs. Catt commented judiciously

Wadsworth's whole record has been against the welfare of the people and for the big interests. He was defeated because he offended one group after another, until finally nobody was left for him but the standpatters.

Miss Hay was more colloquial

Wadsworth always has been opposed to everything women wanted, and they finally realized that the only thing to do was to send him home. He got what was coming to him, and I am glad of it!

<sup>52</sup> Letter to M. G. Peck, August 30, 1926

The second "Cause and Cure of War" conference proved that two years of study and discussion since the first conference had borne fruit. Gone was the uncertainty of aim and caution of expression which was evident at the first meeting. The organizations were unanimous in feeling that there had been a phenomenal rise in interest and growth in members in the departments dealing with America's foreign policy and international relations. Moreover it was abundantly apparent that Mrs. Catt's leadership was the unifying influence, welcomed and supported by all. They could unite around her without any question of precedence or relative importance. Her preeminence was self-evident and on formal occasions they liked to stand up for her as they did for the national anthem. She could not help being aware of the deference shown her, but she took it as a tribute to the things she stood for, not to herself personally.

After the "Cause and Cure" conference, Mrs. Catt and Miss Hay went to Arizona hoping for benefit from the dry climate and sunshine there. The region around Chandler, where they stayed, held a good deal of interest for her. She was amazed at the quantity of vegetables raised under irrigation and shipped east, and equally interested in the prehistoric antiquities.

On New Year's Day, at the invitation of the superintendent of the Mormon Church in that region, she and Miss Hay went to see the new Mormon Temple at Mesa.

What we saw and heard was amazing [she wrote of the incident]. The great Temple in Salt Lake City is surrounded with mystery. Outsiders have never been allowed to step inside. Here a new temple is being erected in what not so long ago would have been desert, and it is costing \$800,000. No church hereabouts can compare with it in calm, classical elegance. It is beautifully set in five acres of ground, all green and spring-like. A temple is chiefly devoted to services for the dead.<sup>53</sup>

Some of the ablest and most respected women in the suffrage movement were Mormons, notably Emmeline B. Wells and Emily S. Richards of Utah, both of whom Mrs. Catt knew well. It was

<sup>53</sup> Letter to M. G. Peck, New Year's Day, 1927.



incongruous with her recollections of those strongminded feminists to hear the superintendent describe the beliefs and ceremonies for which the immense structure had been built. His family were of German origin, he told her, and in his anxiety to see that as many of them as possible got to Heaven, he had gone back to Germany and searched the graveyards in the region where they came from, looking for family names on the tombstones and in the town records. He found four thousand individual names, and had been baptized for every one on the list! One day when he was in particularly good form, he alleged that he had been immersed for ninety-eight of them! When the millennium comes, he told the visitors, there will be two Holy Cities, Jerusalem and Independence, Missouri.

When it came to temporal matters, he was full of less debatable information. He gave a vivid account of the founding of the Mormon colony in Arizona because of the fertility of the soil. They were not the first to till that rich soil, for they found prehistoric irrigation ditches covering ninety-six square miles—some ditches sunk ten feet in underlying rock and still in use today.

The two Easterners had a great day in Phoenix, where twenty-eight years before they had spent a winter trying to get a suffrage bill through the Territorial Legislature. They were welcomed at the Capitol by the Governor, and the Speaker of the Assembly conducted them to the floor of the chamber and introduced the three women members to them, one of whom was serving her sixth term. A reception for them was attended by delegations from thirty women's clubs in the Salt River Valley, and after their return to Chandler, the Solons sent the three women representatives over there to present official greetings from the women of the state.

After six weeks in Arizona, they went on to California. From her youth Mrs. Catt had had the idea that California might be the haven of her declining years, but after a two months consideration of its many advantages she concluded that the East had the stronger call for her. So back they went, Miss Hay thankful to have escaped an old age in Arizona to which at one stage of their pilgrimage

Mrs Catt was inclined Both women were still dogged by neuritis, but in other respects their health was improved Soon after her return, Mrs Catt went out to look over Juniper Ledge

I found the country beautiful, [she wrote] and quite a good many blossoming things at the farm Two dear little calves, as pretty as can be, occupy a stall, and there are about fifty-five peeping chicks running around

I find that people here are much troubled about the propaganda against the Joint Committee—League of Women Voters, the Federation, etc—and I have concluded to run a little campaign of my own, but I do not think I am clever enough to do it properly I am beginning in the next *Citizen* with an article entitled by Miss Roderick, "Lies At Large" I am then reflecting upon trying to write an open letter to the antisuffragists and another to the D A R I wish I had some of the cynicism being thrown around loose by some of the correspondents, as it makes a very good lash <sup>54</sup>

The Joint Committee alluded to, was the Women's Joint Congressional Committee in Washington composed of representatives of several leading women's organizations, supporting welfare legislation for women and minors The same "patriotic" societies which bitterly attacked the Cause and Cure of War Conference were doing their best to discredit the Joint Congressional Committee as communistic The organizations thus attacked at first paid no attention to the vilification campaign until it was clear that it was well organized

As chairman of the Committee on the Cause and Cure of War, Mrs Catt made up her mind to protest publicly against the false and malicious charges which were being circulated, and she singled out the D A R as the outstanding woman's organization to call to account Alice Stone Blackwell cheered her on

All sorts of good luck to you in your campaign with the D A R I have thought for years that a good libel suit against some of that woman patriot crowd would be very wholesome, [wrote Lucy Stone's daughter]

After wading through the literature attacking the liberal women's organizations and the peace societies, Mrs Catt selected at-

<sup>54</sup> Letter to M G Peck, April 30, 1927

tacks on Jane Addams, head of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Florence Kelley, secretary of the Consumers League, and Rose Schneiderman, president of the Women's Trade Union League, as definite cases of defamation by the D A R. She sent questionnaires to the three women asking specific information and outlining what she proposed to say in rebuttal. Miss Addams' reply is a model of precise information, citing dates and documentary references. In her accompanying letter, she said

I have answered your questions to the best of my ability, but the situation as you see it is such a complicated one that I think it would honestly be better not to try to make it clear to the D A R's, but to let me be thrown to the lions as it were!

I had received some time ago a list of the charges made by the D A R. It is a very strange mixture of truth and fiction. I am sending a copy of Emily Balch's reply to that, which is of course much too flattering.

The assumption of the D A R's that they are public censors is comparatively recent but very widespread. I personally do not believe that much can be done with the public in this state of mind. However I am sending the answers to your questions, and you must of course use your own judgment in the matter.

Florence Kelley's reply to the questionnaire is thoroughly characteristic. She was not standing for having her past trimmed up to conform to any conservative pattern.

Your letter of June 3 has just come. It is persuasive and convinces me, and herewith I am complying, stipulating however certain changes in the paragraphs which you enclosed, and asking to see them again when you have revised them.

Engels' book, which I translated, and published and paid for, closed with a prophecy of revolution in England in the near future. The introduction which Engels wrote in 1886 for the American edition of my translation, was a careful consideration of the prospects of Socialism, far-from-Fabianism, in this country. The still existing copies, chiefly in libraries, public and private, where they may survive for a century, carry my names, both Kelley and W (though in this country there has been no second edition printed). Mr Engels died in London in 1895. I repeat, to safeguard us both from certain contradiction when your article is published,

that I can no more repudiate *having been* a revolutionary Socialist than Al Smith can repudiate the Catholic Church!

The originator of The Children's Bureau is Lillian D. Wald, founder and head of the Henry Street Settlement and the Henry Street Visiting Nurses, in New York City. The initiator in promoting the establishment of the Children's Bureau was the National Child Labor Committee. Miss Wald and I were members of the Board of Trustees.

I should be proud to be the originator of the child labor amendment and the chief driving force in getting it submitted. I cannot truthfully claim to have been either one, nor can the amendment be attributed to the Child Labor Committee. It was written by a group of Senators, and passed through Congress by the united efforts of forty-one different state and national organizations.

I am proud to have been the first chairman of the Women's Joint Congressional Committee, appointed at the first meeting of that committee on December 6 (if I remember the day of the month correctly) in 1920, for the purpose of promoting the bill for the Hygiene and Welfare of Maternity and Infancy. I did not suggest the bill.

Please believe, dear Mrs. Catt, that I appreciate both your motive and what you are doing. With sincere regret for the delay, and hoping that you may achieve your end,

Having fortified herself with the facts of the issue as well as she could, Mrs. Catt published her broadside in two installments "Lies At Large" and "An Open Letter to the D. A. R." The first appeared in the June, 1927, issue of *The Woman Citizen*, and is a review of the various groups engaged in witch-hunting among women's organizations. She describes them as "irredentist anti-suffragists, the D. A. R. and other patriotic societies, and scattered scared souls, all working together for a grand defensive against the Russian enemy". Behind this smoke screen she says are anonymous and sinister forces aiming to discredit and render impotent the efforts of all individuals and groups that are working toward a better social order. This vicious combination at the moment has singled out the child labor amendment and the maternity act, which are supported by many women's organizations, branding the measures and their supporters as communistic. "It appears that the Reds always begin with special care of babies," she comments sardon-

ically But the cause which seems reddest to the "patriots" is the attempt to bring about international disarmament

"Lies At Large" was a general indictment The "Open Letter to the D A R" was a direct accusation of that organization as the flagrant offender among the groups attacking women's organizations The "Open Letter" was published in the July issue of *The Woman Citizen* The day it appeared, Mrs Catt arrived in San Francisco on her way to attend the Institute of Pacific Relations which was meeting in Honolulu Her challenge to the Daughters was on the front page of every paper in the city, and there was a stampede of reporters to her hotel Surprised at the commotion she had aroused, she was gratified at having the opportunity to underscore everything she had said in the "Letter."

The "Open Letter" charged the D A R with antifeminism, with circulation of lies about the leaders of other women's societies and attempts to smear the organizations headed by them The case of Jane Addams and the International League for Peace and Freedom, of Florence Kelley and the National Consumers League, of Rose Schneiderman and the National Women's Trade Union League, were taken up

I have chosen the three above-named organizations as examples of the attacks made in the literature distributed by you, because I am not a worker in any of them I might have chosen other organizations, such as the League of Women Voters, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, all of which have been attacked in similar fashion You oppose them because all have expressed the hope that peace will one day supplant war, that children will be taken from factories and sent to school, that mothers and babies will not die of preventable causes, that this country may at least have as high a percentage of literacy as Japan

These measures have no more connection with Socialism or Bolshevism than has Federal aid in the building of roads or lighthouses

It is your privilege to campaign as free citizens in opposition to these views, but there is no excuse whatsoever for calling those who differ with you Bolsheviks, Reds, and conspirators aiming to tear down the nation What stirs criticism is the fact that you impugn the motives, assail the honor, question the intelligence, malign the representatives of honorable

organizations Perhaps the chief cause of irritation is, that the officers of your organization appear to spread the discrediting charges against the elected officers of other organizations

Having freed her mind and conscience, Mrs Catt sailed for Honolulu An editorial in the *Citizen*, commenting on the press reaction to the "Open Letter" said

Among the clippings awaiting Mrs Catt's return from Honolulu, only one has been against her What is important is that the issue now is in the open It is high time that such attacks should be sought out at the source, it is time for new definitions of patriotism

One of the earliest comments printed in the *Citizen* was sent in by Mrs Franklin D Roosevelt, who wrote

Mrs Catt's open letter struck a responsive chord in my breast To accuse organizations working for peace and better government, and the finest women in our country, many of whom have in our time accomplished great things for their fellow citizens, of being under Russian or Bolshevistic control, seems to me absurd It would seem as fine a work for one's country to raise the standard of living for thousands in Chicago as to preserve monuments of our history Nothing breeds revolution as quickly as a sense of injustice This to my mind is far more dangerous than Russian agents and Communist propaganda

The D A R did not take Mrs Catt's reprimand tamely The President General made a spirited rejoinder in the August, 1927, issue of the *D A R Magazine*, the character of which may be inferred from the following excerpt

Mrs Catt is either sadly misinformed or wilfully unobserving if she fails to recognize the evidences of Communism in America Further, she has not impressed us in the slightest degree, nor will she deter us in our efforts along the lines we have chosen We have the approval of too many leaders of thought in the United States, including President Coolidge and Secretary Kellogg

But unfortunately for the D A R its valor had far outrun its discretion in the matter of enumerating subversive influences *The Nation* said of its so-called "blacklist":

It includes almost every man, woman, and organization in America who or which has ever sought to achieve any reform or change whatsoever It

includes the American Association of University Women, the Farmers' National Council, the Council of Women for Home Missions, League for the Abolition of Capital Punishment, Foreign Policy Association, National Association for Child Development, Federal Council of Churches, Y M C A and Y W C A, Association for the Advancement of Colored People, etc., almost ad infinitum. It is an honor roll of American life. Citizens and groups whose names are missing ought to apply for membership. There is in our judgment no red menace in America, but there is a blue menace. No extreme of free speech is so dangerous as the stifling conformism of silly blacklists. As Wendell Phillips put it, "If there is anything in the universe that can't stand discussion, let it crack!"

The generally urbane William Allen White had a set-to with the D A R President General in the press, in the course of which he remarked disgustedly

She has furnished the whole D A R roster as a sucker list for the super-patriots, and the D A R deserves a better fate!

A counter movement arose immediately within the organization, protest was registered against the "blacklist," memberships were withdrawn, and it was a long time before the D A R lived down the aftermath of the "Open Letter."

The meeting of the Institute of Pacific Relations to which Mrs Catt was on her way when the "Open Letter" was published, was the first to which women delegates were invited. Besides the suffrage leader there were in the United States delegation, President Mary Woolley of Mt Holyoke College, President Ada Comstock of Radcliffe, Grace Abbott of the Federal Children's Bureau, and Mabel Cratty of the Y W C A, all of them directly or by implication on the blacklist! The San Francisco League of Women Voters gave a dinner for them. An old worker under Mrs Catt in the 1896 California suffrage campaign wrote to a friend in the East describing the occasion and her impressions of her former leader

I did not see Mrs Catt till I came over to the dinner of the League. There were speeches from the guests of honor, and she made an excellent and humorous one which delighted everybody. I was interested to see the

young women fall for her just as they did in the old days. They honored her far above the other guests—had sent flowers to the hotel, and Mrs Gaillard Stoney had sent her gorgeous orchids to wear <sup>55</sup>

Nine nations were represented at the Honolulu meeting of the Institute of Pacific Relations, women being present in all the delegations except New Zealand. The women from the orient made a great impression on Mrs Catt and fully confirmed the opinions she had formed on her visit to the Far East, years before. Of the Chinese delegates, Mrs C F Wang, former Dean of Women at Canton Christian College, surprised everybody one day by reproaching the missionaries for not encouraging the woman movement in China! The missionaries were quite taken aback and tried to convince her to the contrary, but she stood her ground. China was very prominent in the conference, not only by reason of the high character of her representatives but because of the turbulent and strained relations between her and the European Powers and Japan at the moment.

One of the social events in Honolulu was of particular interest to Mrs Catt. A member of the New Zealand delegation to the institute, Dr Peter H Buck, a well known ethnologist and authority on the Polynesian races, was half-Maori by descent and as such belonged to the same stock as the native Hawaiians. In recognition of this relationship, a member of the old Hawaiian Royal family who lived in Honolulu, a lady greatly revered by her own people and respected by the Americans, gave a Hawaiian ceremonial feast in honor of Dr Buck, and invited Mrs Catt whom she had met on her visit to the Islands in 1912.

The residence of the descendant of Hawaiian kings was surrounded by spacious grounds, tables were set outdoors under a large tent, the food was prepared and served in the ancient manner. Mrs Catt had always had a great desire to visit the islands of the South Pacific. This occasion therefore held a unique attraction for her, and she was much interested in the fact that the Maori from New Zealand and his Hawaiian hostess could carry on a conversation in their respective languages and understand each other. For

<sup>55</sup> Letter Carrie Wheelan to Clara Hyde, July 7, 1927



an immense period of time their peoples had been separated by half the length of the Pacific Ocean, but the intangible bond of language had survived<sup>56</sup>

On returning to the United States, Mrs Catt did considerable speaking in behalf of the Briand-Kellogg Pact renouncing war, then pending in the Senate

The sale of Juniper Ledge, which had been on the market for a year, came suddenly in October The buyer wanted immediate occupancy, and for a week Mrs Catt and Miss Hay went through a domestic upheavable, at the end of which, more dead than alive, they drove out through the stone gateway of their home for good, leaving John, the Portuguese gardener, weeping unrestrainedly at their departure As soon as they were located in a new home, the next spring, John came down from the country and established himself once more as their gardener

A week after the exodus from Juniper Ledge, Mrs Catt was on the ocean en route to Amsterdam to attend a special conference of the International Alliance

I am having the time of my life, [she wrote from the steamer] I don't know a soul, and there are few souls on board anyway I have a bathroom and room for three all to myself The steward and I have different ideas about the porthole—otherwise all is perfection I breakfast at 9 a m and retire at 9 p m I have eighteen books, twenty magazines and some papers Ten days of this blissful life, but it will not be enough to take out of me what that moving did to me We kept a bonfire going four days—that was a valuable factor I have not the slightest idea of where we will go or *do* I am still too tired to think I have to make six speeches before Xmas, and write two magazine articles—one on what helped me to live a successful life<sup>1</sup> It was such a surprise to know I had that I accepted on the spot!<sup>57</sup>

The conference in Amsterdam lasted four days At the suggestion of League of Nations officials the women considered among other things the subjects which were on the agenda of the economic conference which was to meet shortly in Geneva, and for

<sup>56</sup> Dr Buck, later Professor of Ethnology at Yale, is the author of a popular account of the migration of the Polynesian races, *Vikings of the Sunrise*, Frederick Stokes, New York, 1938

<sup>57</sup> Letter to M G Peck, November 7, 1927

which the friends of the League were already becoming apprehensive. The hopes of a brave new world which attended the founding of the League were beginning to fade. Something sinister was moving in darkness, ancient evils were crawling back. The "war debts" poisoned the atmosphere. Nevertheless, reaction had not gone too far to be remedied and people of kindred aims derive new faith from getting together.

One bright moment which had nothing to do with world affairs was provided for Mrs. Catt by Lady Astor, who came to the meeting with her husband. One day she remarked casually that she wished to give Mrs. Catt something to wear, and since they were in Amsterdam she naturally thought of jewels. Accordingly she had stopped at a jeweler's shop and asked to have some rings sent to the hotel, from which she would like her friend to choose the one she liked best. Greatly impressed and exhilarated by this large gesture, Mrs. Catt selected a sapphire ring to go with her sapphire brooch.

In the first days of the new Congress which met soon after Mrs. Catt's return from Amsterdam, Senator Borah introduced a resolution "outlawing war", Senator Capper proposed a treaty renouncing war and defining an "aggressor nation", Representative Burton of Ohio sponsored a resolution prohibiting export of arms to any country engaged in aggressive warfare. Our statesmen were aware of the falling barometer in Europe, but having turned away from world organization to keep the peace they were now intent on passing laws designed to keep America out of any war Europe might start in the future. The country at large was absorbed by the rise of speculation on the New York Stock Exchange. Mrs. Catt fresh from the ominous European scene was shocked at the concentration of the public upon an utterly "phony" prosperity. In common with every other thinking person in the country, she realized that the nation must be shaken awake from its isolationist trance, and that quickly. In a speech at the Exposition of Women's Art and Industries in New York, she said with stern emphasis on the ineffectiveness of women's organizations in general, "In view of what they *might* do, what they *do* is just like a kitten chasing its tail!"

*Home in New Rochelle*

In the spring of 1928, Mrs Catt bought a home in New Rochelle, a residential city on Long Island Sound twenty miles from New York, and at once started improvements on the place. She added an extension to the library, making it the largest room in the house, installed a new heating plant, and built a greenhouse. She lamented the fact that there was but one acre of land for lawn and gardens, but otherwise the place pleased her not only for its location on one of the highest points of the historic old town, but because it was historic in its own right. Originally owned by a Huguenot family which fled to America in the seventeenth century, it later formed part of the grant made to Thomas Paine by Congress in recognition of his services during the Revolution. The shingled cottage in which Paine lived for a time originally stood across the street now called Paine Avenue opposite Mrs Catt's property. The cottage, now owned by the Huguenot Society and used as a museum, has been moved to the foot of the street near the spot where Paine is said to have been temporarily buried.

The house bought by Mrs Catt was handsome and commodious. On the walls of the wide entrance hall she displayed her collection of photographs of famous men and women. Two large sunrooms flanked the entrance, one of which she fitted up for her office. The living room was large enough to accommodate meetings of one hundred people and was often used for that purpose. The library was the most attractive room in the house, lighted by many windows, with a French door opening on a flagged terrace and flower bordered lawn. The walls were lined with bookshelves, framed documents and pictures from foreign lands. At one end of the room stood the large flat desk she had used in the national suffrage headquarters.

The alternations in the house were not finished by the time they were promised, and the harrassed pair had to move in and spend several weeks in indescribable confusion Mrs Catt got away from the clutter long enough to fill an engagement at Chautauqua at the Institute of International Affairs, sponsored by Mrs Percy V Pennybacker and the Chautauqua Woman's Club of which she was president The comfort of speaking in auditoriums open on all sides to the cooling lake breezes made the week less exhausting than she had feared Another speaker at the institute was Dr James Shotwell, and he and Mrs Catt were called on for after-dinner speeches at the Fourth of July banquet When Shotwell was introduced, he said he had listened that morning to a talk by Mrs Catt on woman's contribution to the beginnings of civilization, and he had been depressed ever since over the poor showing made by men in those early days According to Mrs Catt, everything but the wheelbarrow was invented by women! Maybe she forgot the wheelbarrow—but anyway as a historian he was putting in a claim to it for his sex!

As contributing editor of *The Woman Citizen*, Mrs Catt was called upon to notice the great mortality among feminists which occurred during the summer of 1928 In paying tribute to the English militant leader, Emmeline Pankhurst, she spoke of the brilliant teamwork of the Pankhurst family, and of the abrupt end to the militant movement when Britain declared war on Germany in 1914 The headquarters of the Social and Political Union closed at once, and next morning Mrs Pankhurst was speaking on the street, recruiting for the army It was Mrs Fawcett's National Union which carried the cause to victory after the war She compared Mrs Pankhurst in the suffrage movement to John Brown in the antislavery movement

Like many another revolutionary, Mrs Pankhurst became static in her old age She stood for Parliament as a Conservative in 1926, at which time she said, "In my youth I believed in state socialism, the kind advocated by Sidney Webb . My war experience and my experience on the other side of the Atlantic have changed my views considerably. I am now an imperialist"

The passing of Dr Aletta Jacobs, Millicent Garrett Fawcett and Mrs Henry Villard touched the American leader more closely Mrs Fawcett lived to the age of eighty-two, long enough to see a woman in the British Cabinet Active in politics all her life, first as assistant to her famous husband, after his death as leader of the national union of suffrage societies of Great Britain, she had a wide acquaintance with political figures of her day and spoke her mind to them vigorously In her young womanhood, when the Prince of Wales took her out to dinner, she spent the prandial hour talking to him about the need for women doctors—which must have been quite a change for the Prince! Uncompromising in her opinions, Mrs Fawcett yet respected honest opponents She was among the first to send a floral tribute to Mrs Pankhurst's funeral, and a wreath tied with the colors of the Women's Social and Political Union was displayed at her own

Dr Aletta Jacobs was one of the most radical feminists of her time She obtained a university education, became a physician and practiced medicine in Holland when such things were unheard of there As one of the earliest and most outspoken advocates of birth control and pacifism, and also as a bitter critic of England in the Boer War, she was a good deal of a trial to Mrs Fawcett in the International Woman Suffrage Alliance It was Aletta Jacobs who was largely responsible for the women's peace meeting at The Hague in the early days of the First World War

Although Mrs Henry Villard disapproved of Mrs Catt's course in supporting the United States Government when it went into the World War, friendly relations between them were uninterrupted, and the editorial which Mrs Catt wrote on Mrs Villard's death was full of feeling.

Since she was the daughter of William Lloyd Garrison, it was natural that she should have inherited indomitable courage, and faith in great things which when espoused were only dreams in the minds of men These attributes were her outstanding characteristics It helped her causes that she was a rarely beautiful woman, with gracious manners and kindly bearing toward her opponents She stood behind her son in his liberal newspaper enterprises, and when war came, she announced herself a non-

resistant and stood her ground, believing her faith the one which the world will one day endorse

Still another friend and associate of Mrs Catt in the Alliance was taken by death that summer, Mrs Anna Bugge-Wicksell of Sweden, who was appointed by her government to represent Sweden in the Assembly of the League of Nations, and the only woman to serve on the Mandates Commission

Deeply as she felt the loss of these gallant spirits, the great blow fell upon Mrs Catt when her companion of many years, Mary Garrett Hay, was taken August 29th, 1928, was Miss Hay's seventy-first birthday As it was the first anniversary to be observed in the new home, the celebration began with breakfast and was to have lasted all day Miss Hay was in fine spirits as they drove to market in the morning After luncheon the two took a stroll around the gardens, then returned to the house to dress for the afternoon They were chatting back and forth through the open doors of their adjoining rooms, when Miss Hay's voice suddenly ceased After a moment Mrs Catt looked in to see what had become of her, and was shocked to see that her friend had fallen back unconscious on the bed where she had been sitting A doctor and nurse were summoned, and a specialist called for consultation It was a case of cerebral hemorrhage, Miss Hay never regained consciousness and seven hours later she died

Although the funeral was private, Miss Hay's many friends filled the house Obviously ill and greatly shaken, Mrs Catt greeted them as they entered the room to pay their respects, and after the simple Presbyterian service, she went with the little cortege to the burial in Woodlawn Cemetery Here she had bought a plot large enough for two graves, and later she put up a plain stone with the inscription, "Here lie two friends, for thirty-eight years united in service to a great cause"

The night before the funeral there was a hard thunderstorm Miss Hay always had been terrified by lightning, and whenever a storm came up in the night Mrs Catt was in the habit of getting up, lighting a candle and going into the hall with her where Miss

Hay would walk back and forth and Mrs. Catt would sit on the stairs and try to keep awake till the storm was over. On this sad night before her friend was to be taken from her sight forever, Mrs. Catt heard the approaching storm, lighted a candle and went into Miss Hay's room. There she sat till the tumult passed away. "I felt that if she could know, she would be glad I was there," she said.

This sudden bereavement shook Mrs. Catt to the soul. Her own health was precarious and she had taken it for granted that Miss Hay would out-live her. The two had lived together for twenty years and been closely associated much longer. In mind and personality they were as unlike as well could be. Mrs. Catt's immense prestige inevitably overshadowed Miss Hay's humbler gifts, but the latter never felt envy. She was the one who rejoiced most at every tribute to her famous friend.

Miss Hay had a flair for politics and was on excellent terms with local and national politicians. They paid attention to what she said, too, when she became leader of the New York City Woman Suffrage Party and League of Women Voters. They found that when she said women would not stand for a candidate, or would not support a proposal, she knew what she was talking about. She spoke her mind to them without fear or favor.

She had no claim to being numbered with the intellectuals—once in a speech she referred to "Aladdin with his lamp going about in search of an honest man"—but she knew all about running women's organizations efficiently, had been president of the New York Women's City Club, the New York City and State Federations of Women's Clubs, and vice president of the General Federation. Her greatest achievement was leading the metropolitan suffrage campaign which carried New York City in 1917 with enough votes to spare to make up the deficit upstate. The impressive memorial service held for her in Town Hall testified to the public estimate of her as an outstanding citizen. Her public duties were the salt of life for her, and when age and failing powers forced her retirement from one office after another, life lost its savor. She went with Mrs. Catt to

the "Cause and Cure" conferences, but the speeches bored her. She used to stay out in the lobby, selling tickets to the banquet and seeing that the right people got good seats, chatting with old acquaintances whom she never failed to call by their first names as soon as she saw them.

It was plain that Miss Hay's death left Mrs. Catt in a serious condition and her friends were deeply concerned for her future. By a providential coincidence an old family friend was visiting in New Rochelle at this time, and she came to stay with Mrs. Catt while she made adjustments to changed conditions. Miss Alda Wilson was a native of Iowa, youngest of a large family, born and brought up on a farm, like Mrs. Catt an alumna of Iowa State College and a member of Pi Beta Phi sorority. She and an older sister, Almira Wilson, were among the first women to take degrees in engineering and become professional architects. They had lived together and practiced their profession for some years in New York. The sister had died recently, leaving Alda in a situation similar to Mrs. Catt's, and her temporary stay with the latter proved so congenial that Mrs. Catt asked her to make her home with her thereafter. In addition to her professional training, Alda was able to turn her hand to anything that came along. Like Mrs. Catt she had been a great traveler and was a lover of the outdoors. She believed that a little play is essential to the good life, and without much success at first she tried to convert Mrs. Catt to taking life less strenuously.

The new life was not easy for the older woman at the outset. She was ill and sore at heart, and the only way she could forget it was by following her familiar routine. Her mind turned, as our minds will when shaken by the death of those close to us, to the question of immortality. While she could not believe in survival of the personal human spirit after death, she no longer felt her youthful intolerance for that comforting possibility. She was increasingly conscious of the mystery of the universe and the evolutionary processes within it. "My religion, if you can call it such," she said, "is that I must work with all my powers in harmony with those forces as far as I can comprehend them, and let the future take



care of itself" She was grateful to her friends for their efforts to alleviate her loneliness, and was interested in the unusual callers who came to see her

Yesterday, I had a call from Mme Sikelianos, [she wrote in a letter] a daughter of Dr and Mrs Robert Abbe, both very distinguished New York citizens, and both gone long ago She went to Greece, married a Greek and has lived there twenty-five years She and her husband were responsible for that festival at Delphi, two years ago I was very glad to see her and learn about her work, but she was the most astonishing creature you ever saw She wore the ancient Greek costume of brown hand-woven material It was low in the neck, without sleeves and short She wore a cape fastened over the shoulder, no stockings, and her bare feet rested on sandals She had beautiful red-gold hair which hung in two great braids, bound by cords of brown which matched her dress, and she wore no covering on her head She certainly looked like a free woman, and I think she could walk a thousand miles! <sup>58</sup>

Mrs Catt was haunted by the urgent necessity of getting the United States to participate in such measures of international cooperation for world order as the Senate could be induced to approve. She saw the opportunity to establish peace on earth slipping away. "Unless we can stop rearmament, the world is heading straight for another war Five years ago we would not have believed it possible, but now we know war is quite possible again" She initiated a campaign of the "Cause and Cure" organizations in support of the Briand-Kellogg antiwar treaty More than twelve thousand public meetings were sponsored by the "Cause and Cure," resolutions were passed and sent to the Senate, petitions were circulated, and in response to the agitation kept up by these and other groups, the Senate finally capitulated The spirit in which the treaty was ratified, however, is indicated by the remark of Carter Glass who was a supporter of the League of Nations, when he cast his vote, "I should hate to have anybody believe that I consider this pact worth a damn!"

A tougher job faced the peacemakers when they tried to get the Senate to ratify the treaty providing for American adherence to the

<sup>58</sup> Letter to M G Peck, October 18, 1928

World Court Oddly enough this struggle brought Mrs Catt into collaboration with one of the men who had done his utmost to prevent women from getting the vote Elihu Root was one of the international jurists who drew up the statutes defining the constitution and powers of the Permanent Court of International Justice, in 1920 In 1926, the Senate after great debate voted to ratify the treaty of accession, provided that five reservations made by the Senate were accepted by the signatories to the Court The reservations were accepted by the majority of the signatories with the exception of the fifth reservation, which they said was obscure In 1929, Mr Root was invited to Geneva to meet with a committee of jurists and discuss the Senate reservations, he went, taking with him what was known as the "Root formula" for reconciling the reservations with the World Court protocols The formula was satisfactory to everybody concerned except to the one third of the United States Senate which was determined not to go into the Court on any terms whatever, and which continued to block ratification of the treaty Root's reaction to this performance was one of honest rage

While he was in the first heat of it, James G McDonald of the Foreign Policy Association with representatives of other groups backing the Court went to see the exasperated Elder Statesman about starting a campaign to bring public opinion to bear on the Senate They cited the work done by the "Cause and Cure" for the Briand-Kellogg Pact, and suggested that the organizations be enlisted for a World Court drive Mr Root had opposed giving women the vote, he had no love for Carrie Chapman Catt, and it would not have been surprising if he thought the "Cause and Cure of War" was an idiotic title for any adult organization But he was a realist, and when he was told about the twelve thousand mass meetings for the Briand-Kellogg Pact, he said he would be pleased to meet Mrs Catt and her fellow officers and talk over the World Court situation with them

A date was set for the meeting, and at the appointed hour Mrs Catt, Ruth Morgan and others went to Mr Root's New York home He conducted them to the dining room and seated them around a

large mahogany table like a board of directors, taking his place at the head with Mrs Catt on his right, Ruth Morgan on his left. It was many years since the suffrage leader had seen Elihu Root. He was now over eighty years of age, "well preserved" and still holding his thin figure carefully erect, very formal and deliberate in manner, handing down his observations as though they were opinions of the Supreme Court. To him every question was primarily a legal question. In the days when his wife was leader of the antisuffragists, and he was providing them with legal aid and comfort, the statement most resented by him was that women were taxed without representation. They were represented legally, he insisted! All his life he had distrusted and generally opposed popular movements. When the amendment providing for popular election of United States Senators was adopted, he withdrew from the Senate.

Within its chosen sphere, his mind was extraordinarily supple and fertile. As he outlined for the women around the table his efforts to make the Senate reservations understood and accepted at Geneva, Mrs Catt was struck with his skill in finding points of agreement in conflicting views, and with his immense learning. She was seeing the old man for the first time as a progressive rather than a conservative. Two years later, when the old statesman at the age of eighty-six underwent the hazards of a mid-winter journey to Washington in order to appear before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in a last effort to get the Court treaty ratified—answering objections with unflagging energy and acuteness, arguing for ratification with an eloquence which drew applause even from his opponents—Mrs Catt forgave Elihu Root for his antifeminist sins.

For the first time she now found herself working with men as well as women. The example in cooperation set by the "Cause and Cure" was not lost on the regular peace societies. Mrs Catt and Ruth Morgan took active part in the formation of the National Peace Conference, consisting of some thirty men's and women's peace organizations. The new line-up included groups of all shades of opinion from the non-resisters to those who believed in policing

the world Catholics and Communists were the only groups to stay out

The "Cause and Cure" pushed with increasing vigor its educational campaign. The program of each annual conference took up some definite phase of the international disarmament movement. Extension courses called Marathon Round Tables were started throughout the country to spread the influence of the conferences in Washington. The effect of these activities was registered in an immediate rise of popular interest in American foreign policy, and growing disbelief in the idea that Washington's farewell address was meant to keep the United States out of the World Court! A strong desire was expressed by women in the "Cause and Cure" to establish relations with women in other countries who were working for the same objectives. Responding to this wish, Mrs. Catt invited four eminent foreign leaders to come as guests to the fifth "Cause and Cure" conference in Washington, in 1930.

Miss Kathleen Courtney of England was one of the women who organized the Peace Pilgrimage which marched simultaneously from all parts of Great Britain to London, where a petition was presented to Parliament urging international disarmament. Mrs. Dorothee von Velsen was president of the German branch of the International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship. Mme. Marie-Louise Puech represented the French movement. Mrs. Tsune Gauntlett and Miss Hyashi represented several Japanese societies. These women had much to say about conditions in their respective countries, and it was not optimistic. They spoke warningly of sinister changes and rising dangers. In Germany, a feeling of frustration was feeding the desire for revenge, in France, there was frantic demand for security, in Japan, a new war spirit was rising, in England, the government was slow to recognize the signs of the times. Kathleen Courtney in an address of moving and solemn eloquence quoted Bacon's warning, "Time is the great innovator, and he who will not apply new remedies must expect new evils." In the light of subsequent events, the clear thinking and plain speaking of these women in the year 1930 takes on tragic significance.

Of especial interest is the fact that Mrs Gauntlett and Miss Hyashi were on their way to London with a bulky Japanese women's petition for disarmament which they were to present to the Naval Reduction Conference there

Fourteen international women's societies soon after this joined in forming the Permanent Disarmament Committee of Women's International Organizations, with headquarters in Geneva Its first undertaking was the circulation of a world petition to the Geneva Conference on Reduction of Armament which met in 1932 This proved to be the last disarmament conference In recognition of the immense interest taken in disarmament by women's organizations and their wish to be represented in the deliberations, President Hoover appointed Mary E Woolley of Mt Holyoke College as one of three American delegates The conference was held in the midst of a world economic depression and following the Japanese invasion of Manchuria On the opening day, women of fifty-three nations brought a petition of ten million signatures into the hall of the League of Nations and piled it high on the platform before the silent delegates

So strong was the popular pressure for disarmament at this last conference that an English statesman confessed in the House of Commons some years later, "I had the greatest difficulty amid the public outcry at that time in preserving the bombing airplane even on the frontier of the Middle East and India!"

In spite of the bad business conditions following the stock market crash, 1930 had some cheering incidents for Mrs Catt She went to Ames for her fiftieth college graduation anniversary Research done in the college laboratories in finding commercial uses for the by-products of corn interested her so much that she presented the college with the ears of Inca corn which were given her in Peru These specimens of the great-grandfather of modern maize are now among the most treasured objects in the college museum

In 1930, the League of Women Voters was celebrating the tenth anniversary of the Nineteenth Amendment by placing tablets in the capitals of the states and in Washington inscribed with the

names of women who had taken prominent part in the suffrage movement, each state honoring its own leaders. When the lists were completed, it was found that Mrs. Catt's name was inscribed four times. Wisconsin claimed her because she was born there, Iowa because she began her work there, New York because she had lived there most of her life, and Washington because she was pre-eminently a national figure. When the national roll of honor was unveiled in the headquarters of the National League of Women Voters in Washington, Mrs. Catt made the dedicatory speech, and in the course of it she mentioned the fact that of the seventy-one names inscribed on the bronze tablet, all but a very few of the earliest in point of time were names of women who had been her familiar friends.

The prize of \$5000 given by *The Pictorial Review* "for eminent achievement in 1930" was awarded to Mrs. Catt in recognition of her work for international disarmament. Among the tributes to her at the time of the presentation, Dr. Shotwell said she had organized the most effective effort at mass education within his knowledge, and he ascribed ratification of the Briand-Kellogg Pact as due in large measure to the work of "The Conference on the Cause and Cure of War."

It was a great pleasure to her not long afterwards to be one of the committee which voted the M. Carey Thomas Award of \$5000 to Jane Addams because of her work for world peace. She went to Bryn Mawr College for the presentation, where she and Miss Addams were guests of Miss Thomas. This occasion was seized by Miss Thomas to take Mrs. Catt to task for not looking after her health better. She urged the feminist leader to go to Johns Hopkins Hospital for examination and treatment. Mrs. Catt was so impressed with the Johns Hopkins suggestion that she went to the hospital and spent three weeks taking treatment, to the permanent benefit of her health. On returning home, she suffered an ankle fracture which kept her confined to her room for several more weeks, thus completing an involuntary rest cure which was greatly needed.

The first time she came downstairs after the accident was to receive a call from Amelia Earhart and her husband Mr Putnam was publishing a volume of photographs of horrors of the world war, and as he gave a copy to Mrs Catt he remarked that his wife "didn't think so much of it" Amelia explained, "I sympathize with the purpose of the book My criticism is that it won't have any effect on the people it is meant for My husband wants to arouse hatred of war in young men who will have to do the fighting, and I don't think you can deter youth from any enterprise by showing its danger or dreadfulness Danger attracts—it does not repel—youth"

It was a self-revealing comment The following year, Amelia made her first solo crossing of the Atlantic, to be followed by the ever more daring flights which were to be cut off in mid-career in the lonely void of the South Seas When Amelia was lost, the feminist leader commented sadly, "I wonder if she thought when the end came that what she attempted was worth dying for?" She was proud of the courage and initiative of the gallant girl, but to her the chief end of man is to achieve a good society

The prospect of a good society at this time was slim The bread lines of 1930 gave way to organized relief by 1933, but the unemployed were increasing by the millions The week before the presidential election of 1932, *The New York Times* reported that a load of wheat sold in the Middle West for nine dollars, while a load of sawdust was worth ten Mrs Catt's mind went back to her childhood "They will be burning corn again instead of coal in Iowa, this winter," she said

No president since Lincoln had come into office at a darker hour than Franklin Roosevelt Nature contributed an earthquake in California and a hurricane on the Atlantic seaboard which destroyed the dirigible, Akron, with its crew. A few days before his inauguration, Roosevelt barely escaped assassination, the bullet meant for him killing Mayor Cermak of Chicago Senator Walsh of Montana, who was to have been his attorney general, fell dead on his way

to Washington The President's first official act was to close the banks of the nation to stop the wave of bank failures

From that time on, the country was hustled through economic improvisations such as it never had dreamed of Panic subsided as men's minds were taken off their fears and occupied with the remedies, and at that point criticism found its voice, naturally directing it at the most vulnerable object which at the moment was Mrs Roosevelt

It is difficult to understand the fury stirred up in some people by the spectacle of an obviously good woman going about the country at great inconvenience to herself on errands of mercy and goodwill Mrs Catt had known Mrs Roosevelt many years, in the suffrage and peace movements, as a member of the Leslie Commission and an officer in the League of Women Voters It gave her great satisfaction to see that Washington was not going to extinguish Eleanor Roosevelt in the role of President's wife In a press interview, she seized the occasion to say, "Mrs Roosevelt is the first woman in the White House to realize the full significance of her position and to utilize it" She was immensely pleased also with the President's appointment of able and experienced women to high position in the government and diplomatic service

When it came to the economic measures of the administration, however, she had not faith as a grain of mustard seed While she realized that the government had to do something, she thought it was acting without sufficient knowledge

Then with shocking suddenness things began to happen in Europe which made our economic sufferings seem relatively superficial Hitler came to power in Germany at the same time that Roosevelt became President of the United States The first manifestations of the nature of the Third Reich came with the burning of the books, the campaign of pillage and destruction of the Jews, and the symbolic burning of the Reichstag building The universal abhorrence aroused in this country by these events took radical form in Mrs Catt She declared that the new government of Germany had shown itself to be an international outlaw, and that the



other nations should intervene in behalf of its victims. If the rest of the world permitted the attack on the Jews to go forward, it implied tacit consent and invited further attacks on law and order.

She sent an appeal to fifty nationally prominent non-Jewish women to join her in sponsoring a protest petition against the official persecution of Jews and liberals in Germany. She spent the summer of 1933 circulating the protest among outstanding women throughout the country, doing it at her own expense, hoping to get five thousand signatures. When the petitions were called in, nearly ten thousand names were appended which were a veritable "Who's Who" of non-Jewish women of importance in every section of the land. The protest was sent to the State Department and was given wide publicity here and abroad, a reliable informant stating that a copy reached Hitler himself.

The Nazi Government used the Jews as a pretext for severing the ties between German women and women of the rest of the world. The German branches of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance and other international women's organizations were ordered to drop Jewish members, and when they replied that the constitutions of the organizations did not permit such action, Hitler dissolved the German branches.

News which reached Mrs. Catt of Jewish friends in Germany was uniformly disastrous. Dr. Anita Augspurg and Lida Heymann were wise enough to leave Germany for Switzerland before the storm burst. Those who remained were doomed. Dr. Adele Schreiber-Krieger, who presided in the Reichstag when Mrs. Catt addressed that body in 1922, happened to be outside Germany when Hitler came to power, but her money and other possessions remained in the country and were confiscated, and her Aryan husband found it best to divorce her. Getting rid of the husband, Mrs. Catt said, ought to console Frau Schreiber for her real losses! Dr. Alice Solomon, former head of the German Council of Women and for many years in the employ of the government as director of women's social service activities, was summoned before the gestapo, under-

went a long and harrowing inquisition, was stripped of her property and pension and was ordered to leave the country

Holland was the country to feel the first wave of refugees from Germany. A woman's committee almost immediately was set up to aid them, with Rosa Manus as chairman. But the problem was too great for the Netherlands to cope with, and an international advisory committee was appointed with headquarters in Geneva, headed by an American, Mr. James G. McDonald, to consult with the League of Nations. Mrs. Catt at this time demanded that the League send an ultimatum to Germany backed by armed force. She urged our State Department to take a strong hand in cooperation with other nations in bringing pressure to bear at the source of the trouble rather than in discussing palliative measures at the receiving end, but without effect.

Late that summer worn out by the harrowing experiences of refugee relief, Rosa Manus came over to visit Mrs. Catt and to discuss the desperate plight of German emigrés with relief agencies in this country. To give her a change of atmosphere Mrs. Catt took her out to Chicago, where the National Council of Women were celebrating "The Century of Progress of Women" at the World's Fair. Among the women in attendance at the celebration was an old friend of Mrs. Catt, Dr. Rowena Morse Mann, recently come back from Germany where she had been giving university exchange lectures. Dr. Mann was the first woman to receive a Ph.D. from the University of Jena, an event which the University commemorated by placing a tablet in her honor with an appropriate inscription. She was in Germany when Hitler came to power, had an interview with him, and was an absorbed spectator of the change in the intellectual life of the nation immediately thereafter. Most of the men she knew in academic circles kept discretely silent, but one or two gave expression to their profound disgust and apprehension. Nothing said by individuals, however, could equal in significance the formal declaration of the German universities, setting forth their new conception of their function.

We renounce international science. We renounce the international republic of learning. We renounce research for its own sake. We teach

and learn history not to see how things actually happened, but to instruct the German People from the past We teach and learn the sciences not to discuss abstract laws, but to sharpen the tools of the German People in their competition with other peoples

Thus at the wave of the brown magician's wand, the great institutions of learning which were the chief glory of Germany were transmogrified into schools for *gauleiters*, designed to stamp out free thought everywhere in the world

After listening to Dr Mann's story, Mrs Catt commented, "It looks as though Germany had put the clock back a hundred years" "Make it five hundred," was the quick rejoinder

In recognition of her protest petition against persecution of the Jews, Mrs Catt was awarded the American Hebrew medal "for promoting better understanding between Christians and Jews," in 1933 The presentation was made at a very large meeting in the Auditorium of City College, New York Mrs Franklin Roosevelt made the presentation, Mr Henry Morgenthau, former Ambassador to Turkey, presided, and there was plenty of oratory Dr John Finley as usual made the hit of the evening when, in the course of his remarks, he turned to speak directly to Mrs Roosevelt only to find her attention monopolized by Rabbi Landman who sat next to her on the stage Without a moment's hesitation the old schoolman said urbanely, "Mrs Roosevelt, if I may have your attention for a moment," and brought down the house!

Mrs Catt had retired as chairman of the Committee on the Cause and Cure of War in 1932 She was succeeded by Ruth Morgan, whose wide contacts with leaders in the peace movement here and abroad were greatly valued by her associates Miss Morgan was in complete sympathy with Mrs Catt's dynamic policies and continued them to the best of her ability It came as a great blow, therefore, when her untimely death occurred in the early spring of 1934 The only mitigating circumstance was that Josephine Schain, who had been with the "Cause and Cure" since its inception, was able to act as chairman succeeding Miss Morgan

Shortly afterward, Mrs Catt undertook a trip out to the west coast, to stir up interest in California in the Marathon Round Tables

These continuous study groups in the "Cause and Cure" organizations were in effect extension courses, popularizing the material formulated at the annual conferences in Washington, and Mrs Catt considered them the most important educational agency of the movement

After returning from the California trip, the summer was spent by Mrs Catt in preparing a book, *Why Wars Must Cease*, to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the "Cause and Cure" The book was made up of ten chapters, contributed by different writers<sup>59</sup> The chapter written by Jane Addams was one of the last things she penned for publication, as her death occurred not long afterward.

When Mrs Catt went to Washington for the tenth anniversary conference, she was invited to the White House over the weekend preceding the meeting, with Alda Wilson and Mrs Percy Pennybacker The first time she went to the White House, Mrs Catt had accompanied Susan B Anthony who presented an appeal to Theodore Roosevelt asking for his support for the Federal woman suffrage amendment She had called there numberless times since then, but this was her first experience as an overnight guest The room assigned to her was the one used by Abraham Lincoln as his study, and where Eleanor Roosevelt had said she was conscious of his abiding presence as nowhere else in the house

Not since Lincoln's time had incumbents of the White House been beset with more critical problems than those confronting the President in 1935, yet when the guests arrived on this January Sunday, they were immediately conscious of the atmosphere of tranquility and order that pervaded the great place In the afternoon, the President's family, the guests and the household staff assembled in the East Room to hear a visiting Negro choir sing spirituals, and to see a popular moving picture afterwards From that time until the eight o'clock Sunday night supper, the guests were left to their own devices As was usual with these informal affairs, a sizable party assembled in the State Dining Room for supper The President

<sup>59</sup> Eleanor Roosevelt, Jane Addams, Florence Allen, Mrs William Brown Melony, Alice Hamilton, Mary E Woolley, Florence Boeckel, Emily Newell Blair, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Carrie Chapman Catt Macmillan Company, 1935

was seated midway down the long table, with Mrs Catt on his right and Mrs Pennybacker on his left. Across the table from them, Mrs Roosevelt presided over a large chafing dish. Scrambled eggs and bacon were standard fare, and waiters stationed at every fourth chair attended to the wants of the guests.

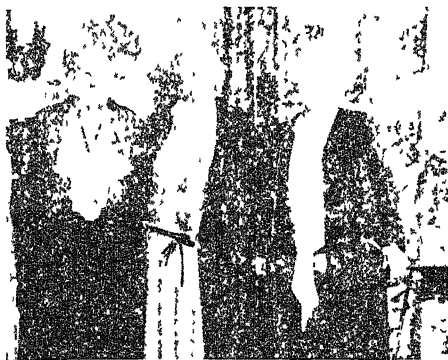
Conversation on this occasion was chiefly concerned with the prospects of the World Court Bill which had been submitted at last by the Foreign Relations Committee without recommendation to the Senate. Since the United States had recently become a member of the International Labor Organization, it was generally thought that the Senate would take similar action in regard to the World Court and that the treaty would be speedily ratified. Mrs Catt was the only person present who expressed decided difference with this optimistic view. For some time she had urged the necessity of making a nation-wide demonstration in support of the bill, but had not been listened to. Other leaders were not convinced that it was necessary or were unwilling to get down to the job of organizing it. Had she been twenty years younger, or even ten years, she would have gone ahead and organized it herself.

A remark which the President made to her in the course of the conversation struck Mrs Catt as something he had had on his mind to say. It was to the effect that if peace were to be preserved, America would have to build *a navy second to none and do it as fast as possible*. "I know you do not agree with me," he concluded, and his manner was so serious that she did not forget the incident. In referring to it afterward she commented, "The President is a sincere friend of organized world peace, he would like to see the country in the League and the World Court, but what he really relies on to preserve peace is our navy! He was in the Navy Department in the last war, he believes sea power is the ultimate force. And if I were in his shoes," she went on after a pause, "I would want the biggest navy in the world!" She surmised that he wanted to convey an appeal to the women not to fight naval appropriations.

Next day, she was witness to one of the minor vicissitudes of the White House. At Mrs Pennybacker's suggestion, Mrs Roosevelt

had invited the Chautauqua Woman's Club to luncheon. The club is a big one with a membership scattered throughout the country, but Mrs. Pennybacker told Mrs. Roosevelt that probably not more than a hundred women would be able to come. Mrs. Roosevelt thought that it would be safer to expect three hundred and made preparations accordingly. By the time they all got there, however, the luncheon was attended by 903 persons! Apparently it made not the slightest difference how many came, the flow of food and drink never failed although it was somewhat sparsely distributed toward the end. When Mrs. Catt took her leave of Mrs. Roosevelt after the multitude had departed, she expressed her awe at the elasticity of the White House cuisine and service, and wondered how much food had been eaten. She was told that as soon as they saw what was happening, the city was scoured for extra supplies. A few days later, Mrs. Roosevelt sent her a list of the things bought for the luncheon. A few items indicate what the food bills at the White House must amount to in the course of a year: 28 hams and 22 pounds of cold cuts, 18 dozen bunches celery, 6 bushels potatoes, 3 gallons salad dressing, 48 gallons coffee, 6 gallons cream, 48 gallons ice cream, 125 pounds fruit-cake, 42 other cakes, etc.

It was with deep satisfaction that Mrs. Catt witnessed the dynamic efficiency with which Mrs. Roosevelt ordered her life in Washington. From the first Mrs. Roosevelt had made it her business to raise the status of professional and business women at the Capital. Her weekly conferences with newspaper women gave them a prestige they never had enjoyed before. Mrs. Catt sat in at one of the conferences and noted the friendly spirit that prevailed. Mrs. Roosevelt instituted the custom of giving a party for pen-women the same night that the National Press Club gave their annual dinner, and her party immediately rivalled the other in publicity. Moreover, the equanimity with which the First Lady stood criticism delighted the feminist leader. The all-observing H. G. Wells was among the first to recognize Mrs. Roosevelt's unique position in the Washington picture. He



JANE ADDAMS, MRS. CATT AND  
M. CAREY THOMAS  
Bryn Mawr College, 1931



INDIAN DELEGATION TO THE ROME  
CONGRESS OF THE ALLIANCE, 1923  
Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Front Center



*Underwood and Underwood, Wash, D C*

MRS FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT AND MRS CATT  
Award of the Chi Omega medal, White House, Spring of 1941



describes in his autobiography his first impression of the Roosevelt partnership when he visited them in the White House

The Roosevelts are something more than open minded Arthur Balfour was greatly open minded, but he lacked the slightest determination to realize the novel ideas he entertained so freely President Roosevelt has an uncanny disposition for realization Both he and his wife have the simplicity that says, "But if it is right we ought to do it" They set about what they suppose has to be done without exaltation or any sense of the strangeness of such conduct Such unification of unconventional thought and practical will is something new in history <sup>60</sup>

Despite the large attendance and the interest manifested at the tenth anniversary conference of the "Cause and Cure," it was evident that all proposals for disarmament had proved illusory, and that the totalitarian countries were straining every nerve in a race for military ascendancy Nor was the United States cured of isolationism, for as soon as the conference was over, the Senate fulfilled Mrs Catt's prediction by voting to stay out of the World Court Five years later, the Senate that would not join an international tribunal of justice, would be voting feverishly for a two-ocean navy, repeal of the arms embargo, military conscription, lend-lease aid to every nation fighting the Axis, and finally for all-out war on a scale never before conceivable

An interesting event in the history of the woman movement occurred at this time, when the Turkish Government invited the International Alliance of Women to hold its twelfth congress in Istanbul Turkey was represented at the meeting in Washington in 1902, when the alliance was founded, by a Christian missionary-teacher, but nobody at that time expected to live to see a feminist congress under the auspices of the Turkish Government This was the first time a Moslem government had entertained the alliance, and to commemorate the event Kemal Ataturk struck off a series of postage stamps in honor of famous women of the world Mrs Catt was among the number, honored as feminist leader and founder of the International Alliance

<sup>60</sup> Experiment in Autobiography, p 681, H G Wells Macmillan Co, 1934

The officers of the Alliance were eager to have Mrs. Catt present at the congress, and after much hesitation on account of her age and health, she finally decided to go. While she was about it she thought she might as well visit Greece and go to Geneva to see the League of Nations, two things she had been unable to do hitherto. All traveling arrangements had been made, when two days before the date of sailing she was taken critically ill, and the trip had to be abandoned. Several weeks later, Esther Ogden and Josephine Schain returned from the congress and brought her a vivid account of all that took place. The government had been removed to Ankara, near the site of the ancient Hittite empire capital, and the old Byzantine capital now called Istanbul, had lost its importance and was fallen into disrepair. But the town nevertheless stepped out into the feminist limelight with a flourish which made up for considerable dilapidation. Kemal invited the congress delegates to come to Ankara as guests of the Government and went out of his way to show them every courtesy, in spite of which Josephine Schain thought him a terrifying gentleman. She had not forgotten a former visit to Ankara, in the course of which she had gone out for a peaceful walk into the country and had run into two wholesale executions of prisoners!

Whatever else he was, he certainly had an enlightened attitude toward women as citizens. It must be added, however, that as soon as the congress of the International Alliance was over, Kemal dissolved the Turkish branch of the organization, giving as his reason the fact that Turkish women had the vote and all the privileges of citizenship, which made it unnecessary for them to be connected with a society working to get those privileges. Just before the congress, Mussolini dissolved the Italian branch of the Alliance and forbade Italian women to attend. This left the organization without representation of the women of Germany, Italy, Turkey and Russia.

The death at this time of Charlotte Perkins Gilman put an end to the activity of the most original and challenging mind which the woman movement produced. Mrs. Gilman got on even worse than most reformers with society. Her life was one long struggle against illness, overwork, and popular indifference. Most of her life she was

distressingly poor, but she wrote and lectured indefatigably. For years she published a monthly magazine, *The Forerunner*, written entirely by herself. Her books were translated into other languages and brought her a fame abroad which was denied her in her own country. Not long before her death, she was placed first in a list of twelve great American women by Mrs. Catt.

When the ravages of an incurable disease forbade further activity, this great member of the extraordinary Beecher family put her affairs in order, finished her autobiography, and calmly put an end to her life. She left a remarkable defense of her act which her daughter gave to the press and which was included in her autobiography. Naturally there was great controversy over her suicide, during which Mrs. Catt came to her defense in a public statement:

In general I think it is cowardly when people dodge their responsibilities by taking their own lives. But it was not cowardice which prompted Mrs. Gilman's act. She would have gone on as long as she could be of any use in the world. I am shocked but not surprised by her death. A woman of her mental vigor would do exactly what she did to avoid giving trouble to her daughter, and fruitless pain to herself.

Her many friends throughout the country decided to celebrate the year 1936 as Mrs. Catt's "jubilee year of public service." The celebrations began in Washington when the presidents of the eleven organizations in the Cause and Cure of War Conference escorted Mrs. Catt to the White House to receive the congratulations of President Roosevelt. The delegation was met by Mrs. Roosevelt and conducted to the President's office where Mrs. Catt was placed in an arm chair by the desk while the others stood in a semicircle facing her and the President. Mr. Roosevelt said he had written Mrs. Catt a letter which he wished to deliver to her in person, and he then read it aloud.

Our old friendship, dating back to the days when I was a very young State Senator in 1911, would be a sufficient reason for me to write to you on your completion of half a century of public service. But there is a greater reason—because the whole country applauds you and your very great contributions to our well being.

The many years of devoted work which you gave to the cause of woman's suffrage have long since been justly rewarded, not only by the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution of our own country, but also by marked improvement in the status of women throughout the world.

Those of us who are concerned directly with the maintenance and encouragement of peace between nations are also grateful to you for the splendid leadership you give to the cause of peace and the furtherance of the prevention of war. May you continue for many years to come as the strong and active captain in these noble objectives of a better civilization.

Mrs. Catt appreciated the honor done her by the head of the nation and she rose to her feet to receive the letter he handed to her. As she stood looking down at the affable, smiling gentleman in the chair which he could not leave without assistance, there was a curious resemblance between the two. Their profiles showed the same clear-cut, resolute features, an amiable disposition had smoothed bristling difficulties for both of them, both recognized a compulsion "to do justly, to love mercy," which stopped just a trifle short of "walking humbly," while the basic quality they had in common was inexhaustible dynamic energy, the extravert will to bring things to pass.

In thanking the President she said that his message belonged to her associates in the suffrage struggle as much as to her, and that she would send copies of his letter to her fellow officers in the national suffrage association. She expressed the gratitude felt by all forward-looking women for his appointment of outstanding women to high position in the government. "Such recognition is the greatest possible blessing to the woman movement," she said earnestly. "We are especially proud that Frances Perkins is a member of your Cabinet, that Mrs. Owen is Minister to Denmark, and that there are many others whom you have appointed."

There were other celebrations throughout the year. If she did not have to make a speech, the chief figure at these functions was apt to forget what she was there for, as for instance at a reception in West Orange, New Jersey. On this occasion, an old lady who came early was introduced to her as Dr. Isabel Dodd, former Professor of Arts and Archeology at the Woman's College of Constantinople and an authority on the Hittites. As soon as she heard the magic word,

Hittite, Mrs Catt drew Dr Dodd off into a corner and it was the Hittites' hour from then on! She often recalled the conversation and wished she might have another meeting with the old scholar. Another occasion of interest was a Passover luncheon at the home of Professor Gottheil of Columbia University, where along with much else the ritual roast lamb, bitter herbs and unleavened bread prescribed in the Book of Exodus were served. The family were prominent in the Zionist movement, and Dr Gottheil was not only a great scholar but a richly rewarding talker about affairs in the Middle East.

In the spring, she went to Des Moines to unveil a memorial in the State Capitol to the pioneer suffragists of Iowa. She addressed a huge convention of the Associated Countrywomen of the World in Washington, D C, and from there went to Lynchburg to deliver the commencement address at Sweet Briar College. During her stay at the college she was the guest of Dr Meta Glass at the President's House.

Things happening elsewhere in the world interested Mrs Catt far more than her own "fifty years of public service." Fascist rebellion had broken out in Spain, Italy completed the conquest of Ethiopia, Germany sent troops into the Rhineland, and adopted the headsman's ax as the instrument of capital punishment, the King of England abdicated, Chiang Kai-shek was kidnapped, the treason trials were going on in Russia, the President of the United States went to Buenos Aires to open the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, the Philippine Legislature submitted the question of votes for women to the women of the islands themselves. If three-hundred thousand voted in favor, women would be enfranchised.

The Philippine suffrage campaign news was something she could act upon and she did so at once. Mrs Catt had started the movement in the islands on her visit there in 1912, when she organized the first suffrage club in Manila. The time allowed for the present campaign was very short. She got in touch with the campaign committee in Manila and set to work raising money and sending it to them. The committee was most energetic, sending native women campaigners throughout the islands to make sure that all races and religions were

represented in the referendum. As a result of this intelligent teamwork, half a million favorable votes were cast in the election, affording a remarkable demonstration of the readiness of Filipino women to assume political responsibility. A few months later, a Filipino woman who came to this country for advanced study called upon Mrs. Catt in New Rochelle. She had been commissioned to present the American leader with a silver plaque, mounted on native wood and bearing the inscription:

In grateful acknowledgment of the moral and financial aid given by the women of America through Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt to the women of the Philippines through the National Federation of Women's Clubs in their struggle for political rights culminating in victory.<sup>61</sup>

Like all people in public life, Mrs. Catt had accumulated a large amount of documentary material which she wished to distribute where it might be of use, and she now set about looking it over with that end in view. She presented her books on war and peace to Iowa State College. Her books on feminism, including some curious volumes long out of print, were offered to the Congressional Library and were accepted by Dr. Putnam, the Librarian. She looked over her accumulation of photographs and enlisted Alda Wilson's professional skill in mounting those of historic interest in albums for preservation. She went through her files of correspondence and speeches. The speeches seemed to chasten her a good deal. "I certainly made the worst speeches ever!" she declared after each one she sampled. But they contained so much factual material not available elsewhere that she hesitated to destroy them.

The charter of the National American Woman Suffrage Association was due to expire in 1940, and in the spring of 1938, she called a board meeting at her home in New Rochelle to decide whether to let the association die or to extend the charter a second time. Most of the officers and directors were present at the meeting which lasted all day. The place was looking its best with the gardens in full bloom and the house filled with flowers. On the large desk in the

<sup>61</sup> The plaque was placed by Mrs. Catt in the Woman Suffrage Collection in the Smithsonian Museum, Washington, D. C.

library Mrs Catt had placed an exhibit of the choicest items of the books which were going to the Congressional Library Maud Wood Park brought the manuscript of her just completed account of the thorny progress of the Nineteenth Amendment through Congress, which she presented to Mrs Catt for the Congressional Library collection Miss Raymond Brown announced the completion of her history of the final decade of the American movement The women who led the suffrage struggle did not intend that the world should forget what it had cost women to gain full citizenship, for only those who know the cost of liberty prize it In view of the fact that women already were deprived of their newly won rights in several countries of Europe, it was voted to extend the charter of the suffrage association to the year 1975 as its official existence might be of service

It was plain that people everywhere who prized liberty soon would have to fight for it In the closing days of that summer, when Chamberlain took his first ride in an airplane in his haste to reach Hitler with appeasement proposals, Mrs Catt commented bitterly, "There goes the true symbol of our million years of evolution, a university graduated statesman, wearing a gas mask and scurrying into a hole in the ground trying to escape the war he hasn't got brains enough to stop!" Her heart was sore for Czechoslovakia She had poignant memories of Prague, of going with Miss Plaminkova to luncheon in the Castle with Masaryk and his daughter, memories extending over many years In the light of those recollections she listened to Hitler's tirade over the radio in which he heaped every vile insult upon the Czech leaders and announced the partition of the most progressive country in Eastern Europe

It was in these dark times that her friends arranged a celebration of her eightieth birthday, January 9, 1939 There was a public luncheon at the Astor Hotel in New York Rosa Manus came from Holland representing the International Alliance, bringing with her greetings from friends in many lands, strung on a blue ribbon which reached from one end of the speakers' table to the other A series of biographical pictures covering events and scenes in Mrs Catt's life from youth to old age were thrown on the screen, while Maud Wood

Park and Mrs James Morrison made a running commentary on them Mrs F Louis Slade presided at the luncheon, and the only speech was made by the old leader herself, who outlined the changes she had witnessed during her lifetime affecting women She spoke with all her oldtime vigor, humor and eloquence, taking an hour to do it and ending apparently as fresh as when she began "I look at her with awe," said one young woman "Will any of my generation be like that when they are eighty?"

That spring preceding the outbreak of World War II, the New York World's Fair was opened, its theme, "The World of Tomorrow"<sup>1</sup> At one of the meetings there early in the season, Miss Catt was a guest speaker, and afterward from the balcony of the Pennsylvania Building she watched the sunset and gradual illumination of the grounds It was a marvellous spectacle as the slow light crept up the dark tower of the Russian Building to the gigantic figure of the Soviet Worker at the top, illuminated Italia sitting at the head of her waterfall, outlined the masses of the French and British Buildings, the lovely spire of The Netherlands, the black and gold tower of Poland, the lacquered house of Japan, the cenotaph of Czechoslovakia with its tragic inscription The one nation which had no building there—Germany—was yet insubstantially present, like the gathering night waiting for the lights to go out Looking back upon it, that "World of Tomorrow" with its dream-like trylon and perisphere set up on Flushing Meadow seems like a rich child's forgotten playhouse

A few weeks later, between the movements of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, New York's Municipal Broadcasting Station announced the bombing of Warsaw, and the next morning Chamberlain's still, small voice announced that Great Britain was at war with Germany Woodrow Wilson said shortly before his death, that America's failure to back up the League of Nations meant another world war within twenty years H G Wells set 1945 as the fated year The forces behind human events were swifter than the prophecies Miss Catt had no illusions about the involvement of this country and she



waited with such resignation as she could muster through the winter of the "phony war" for the terrific events that were to come

Came June, 1940, and the fall of France, came Dunkirk when the beaten English army waded into the surf to meet the boats ferrying them back home. Then at the most critical moment in her history the authentic voice of England spoke through the air to the far corners of the earth. "I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears and sweat— Our aim is victory at all cost, for without victory there is no survival— Let us brace ourselves to our duty and so bear ourselves that if the British Commonwealth and Empire last for a thousand years, men still will say, 'This was their finest hour' "

Listening to Churchill's harsh voice, Mrs. Catt remembered the victory of Queen Elizabeth's daredevil ships over the Spanish Armada and Nelson's fight at Trafalgar. Here at last was a determined leader, the rarest gift vouchsafed to any cause! She was no conscientious objector in this fight. With all their sins, the democratic nations had a better cause than their foes were fighting for. She had always held that the time to stop a war is before it begins, and now she advocated every measure to put this nation on a war footing.

During the terrific destruction of English cities by German bombers, she heard only indirectly of tragedies in the families of English friends. Her correspondents did not mention their own troubles and alluded only casually to those of others. A letter from Mrs. Corbett Ashby asked if Mrs. Catt would act again as president of the International Alliance, "in case anything should happen to the English officers." She cabled her assurance that she would so act, having learned from another source that the Ashby home had been hit by a bomb and several of the inmates injured, among them Mr. Ashby. Alliance headquarters had been closed, and for a time official business was carried on by Mrs. Bompas, the headquarters secretary, at her home. Then the Bompas home was bombed twice, and the files and archives of the Alliance were transferred to Oxford for safe-keeping in the university vaults.

Bad as conditions were in England, they were worse on the continent. A despatch from Anne O'Hare McCormick in the Balkans to

the *New York Times* said, "It is too optimistic to say that life is stopped in Europe. It is moving backward every day with terrible momentum. In five months communication is about where it was fifty years ago. You can see the level of life lowering like water in a lock."

For several years, Mrs. Catt had warned Rosa Manus that she should get out of Holland, but with a curious confidence in the neutrality of The Netherlands, Rosa stayed there until it was too late to escape. Shortly after the occupation of Amsterdam by the Nazis, she was arrested and taken with other Dutch citizens to Scheveningen. She was writing a letter to Mrs. Catt when the gestapo came for her, and the unfinished letter was left on her desk. She was living at the time with a sister, her own home having been requisitioned, while the daughter of still another sister occupied a room under the same roof. Rosa's unfinished letter reached Mrs. Catt some weeks later and it was the last message she ever received from that devoted friend. From Scheveningen she was taken to a concentration camp near Berlin, where she died the following spring. News of her death did not reach America until three months later and no particulars accompanied the bare announcement. Subsequently the niece met her death while trying to escape from Holland, and the sister was arrested and spirited away to an unknown fate.

Similar news reached Mrs. Catt about friends in other countries overrun by the Germans. Because of their prominence as liberals they were marked for persecution if not death, and the meager information about them invariably was accompanied by the warning not to try to communicate with them, as this would but add to their peril. Because of her long and honorable career in Czechoslovakia as educator, feminist, member of the City Council of Prague and the National Senate, Mme. Frantiska Plaminkova was one of the first to be arrested after the German occupation. She had been active in many international women's organizations, had represented Czechoslovakia in the League of Nations, was head of the Czech Council of Women. For many months she was subjected to imprisonment under conditions of unspeakable cruelty and indignity. Then came the Ger-

man reverses in Russia, and she was ordered to enlist the cooperation of the Czech Council of Women in collecting furs and warm clothing for the German Armies on the Eastern Front. She replied that the only way to get the Council to act was to call a meeting and put the matter before them. She was released from prison long enough to call the meeting, the question was presented and, as she well knew it would be, it was unanimously voted down. After that nothing was heard about her until the following item appeared in *The International Women's News*, for March, 1943:

After many months of uncertainty, we now know from German sources via Sweden that Mme Plaminkova is dead, "simultaneously with several of her countrymen." We know what that means and feel thankful that she is at rest and no longer facing the hell of prison and torture.

I shall not forget the last time I saw her, on the eve of her departure from Copenhagen after the Alliance Congress. She had been implored to return to England with us. I begged her to think it over once more because we both knew that she was returning to imprisonment, to torture, to death. She said that she could not face the life of a refugee, knowing that she might still be able to do something for her beloved country, something at least to help its women to face their dreadful fate.

She chose still what was to her the way of duty, and we can only salute her memory as that of one of the greatest and bravest whom we were privileged to know.

It was characteristic of the Germans to execute this patriot leader by hanging, the most painful and ignominious method, and there is no doubt that she went to her death with but one regret, "that she had but one life to give to her country."

Mrs. Catt was under continual emotional strain throughout these times due to appeals for money to finance the escape of refugees, and for her influence in obtaining visas and transportation for them. She did what she could, but she could not make it clear to the desperate applicants that in most cases it was beyond her power to aid them. The fantastic complications, delays and graft in these transactions are indescribable, yet fugitives did manage to reach this country.

Mrs Catt met an interesting group of these exiles at a luncheon given by Mrs William Dick Sporborg at her home in Port Chester, and listened to an absorbing discussion by them of what was happening in Europe. Among them were Alvarez del Vayo, former Foreign Minister of the Spanish Republic, Genevieve Tabouis, French political writer, Toni Sender, former member of the German Reichstag, two White Russians, and an Englishman, Mr Fred Miller, in America on war business. Del Vayo was moving heaven and earth to get Spanish Republican refugees out of French detention camps and brought over to Mexico instead of being surrendered to Franco. Mme Tabouis, desperately ill, had just arrived here after having been forced to leave her husband, a son and two daughters behind in occupied France. A year later she was to publish her story of the fall of France under the title, "They Called Me Cassandra." Toni Sender told Mrs Catt that this was not the first time they had met, that she was sitting in the Reichstag the day Mrs Catt addressed it, back in 1922. Apparently the most carefree guest at the luncheon was Mr Fred Miller, and this in spite of having received a cable that morning, saying that his London home had been wrecked by a bomb! Fortunately his family were not in it at the time.

For some time the thought had been growing in Mrs Catt's mind that the centennial of the woman's rights movement ought to be given public recognition since it occurred at the time when the fascist regimes were thrusting the women of every country they overran back into a condition of virtual slavery. The centennial year fell in 1940, for the woman's rights struggle began definitely in 1840, when eight American women delegates to the World Antislavery Convention in London were denied seats in the convention on the ground that they were women! Lucretia Mott, one of the excluded delegates, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton were so stirred by this public affront that as they left the hall they made a mutual pact to start a woman's rights movement when they got back home.

It was due to Mrs Catt's initiative and energy that it was agreed to have the centennial celebration, with the National American Woman Suffrage Association acting as sponsor. Thirteen national

women's organizations<sup>62</sup> united in the commemoration under the title, "The Woman's Centennial Congress" The congress was organized under five commissions Economics, Education of Women, Ethical and Religious Values, Government and Politics, Peace Through World Organization Each commission was staffed by women who were recognized authorities in the field The congress program, therefore, was nothing less than a survey of American woman's place in present day society, what she had achieved in a century, where her efforts have been most effective and in what lines her influence promised to expand in the future

A short history of the woman's rights movement was issued as a centennial volume under the title, *Victory—How Women Won It*<sup>63</sup> A playlet written by Mrs Catt, dramatizing the Seneca Falls Convention of 1848, was brilliantly given by a group of Vassar students under the direction of Mrs Henry Lyman of the Vassar English Department The girls wore authentic original costumes of the period and gave a spirited interpretation of the revolutionary fervor of the pioneers

At the conclusion of the play, four lineal descendants of the women who wrote the Seneca Falls Declaration were presented to the audience, Lucretia Mott being represented by Anna Lord Strauss, Martha Wright, by Agnes Osborne Griswold, Mary Ann McClintock, by Mrs R N Grant, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, by Harriot Allaben Two men famous for their championship of the early movement, William Lloyd Garrison and Nathaniel Rogers, were represented by their granddaughters, Eleanor Garrison and Julia Rogers

<sup>62</sup> Cooperating organizations American Association of University Women, Associated Women of American Farm Bureau Federation, Junior Leagues of America, General Federation of Women's Clubs, National Board of Y W C A, National Committee of Church Women, National Council of Jewish Women, National Council of Negro Women, National Council of Women, National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, National W C T U, National Women's Trade Union League

<sup>63</sup> *Victory* was published by the H W Wilson Company in two editions, general and de luxe, Mrs Catt writing one of the chapters and the foreword Owing to the personal interest of Mr and Mrs Halsey Wilson this handsome volume was published at a nominal price and widely distributed among the libraries of the country

Following the tribute to the pioneers, Mrs Catt read citations of one hundred women who had distinguished themselves in occupations which were not open to women or were not in existence in 1840, the year in which Harriet Martineau had said there were only seven occupations in which they might engage Mrs Catt's list, headed by Mrs Roosevelt, included women in high government position, college presidents and professors, scientists, public administrators, doctors and surgeons, lawyers, engineers, one theologian, bankers, manufacturers, trades union executives, inventors, policewomen, and Belle Benchley, executive head of the San Diego Zoo In 1940, it was hard to find seven occupations in which women were not making a name for themselves

But the centennial was more than a celebration of past achievements It covered three days with discussions designed to chart a course for women of the coming century as the Seneca Falls Declaration had charted a course for the women of the past

The Woman's Centennial was Mrs Catt's last public undertaking As if to honor the completion of her career, the National Institute of Social Sciences conferred on her that year their gold medal for eminent achievement, Wendell Willkie and Dr James West being similarly honored, and Moravian College for Women gave her the honorary LL D degree In the spring of 1941, she went to Washington to receive the Chi Omega gold medal, which was presented by Mrs Roosevelt in the presence of a distinguished audience in the East Room of the White House Preceding the award, the old leader was guest of honor at dinner in the State Dining Room

She looked very grand on this occasion, wearing the star sapphire brooch and a corsage of orchids, and she was obviously enjoying herself Mrs Catt was seated halfway down the long table opposite Mrs Roosevelt, with Secretary Jesse Jones on one side of her and T V Smith of Chicago University on the other A tall silver ship filled with red roses was placed in the middle of the table before her, and similar masses of color were spaced at intervals along the table. Only the old suffragists who were present remembered that red roses once were the symbol of the antisuffragists'

In acknowledging the award, Mrs Catt reaffirmed the principles to which she had devoted her life T V Smith was the orator of the evening, but it was Mrs Catt whose words were remembered. Representative Edith Nourse Rogers of Massachusetts inserted her remarks in the *Congressional Record* Mrs Roosevelt commenting on the occasion in "My Day" said.

I want to say again what I have often said before to both Mrs Catt and her friends She has been an inspiration to all of us, and continues to be in these times when many of us find ourselves obliged to face situations we had hoped had gone forever Her courage, patience, humor, and perennially young outlook which bows to new conditions and adjusts to them, are perhaps the most helpful things to see in this confusing world

A characteristic incident occurred in the fall of that year, when she paid a surprise visit to a meeting of the New York State League of Women Voters. Throughout the summer the "America First" people had been very active all over the country, including a small but earnest minority within the League itself Mrs Catt sat in silence during the debate on a resolution in favor of repealing the Neutrality Act The resolution carried by a substantial majority, but the discussion was too tame to suit her When she was called on for remarks, she declared, "I'm sick of all this selfish, cowardly talk about 'defense'! We should stand for the principles on which civilization has evolved I belong to a generation that has passed, but you are young, and you owe an obligation to women all the world around!" The *League Bulletin* reporting the meeting remarked, "You can no more listen to Mrs Catt without being moved, than you can stand still when a cyclone strikes The difference is, she moves one in the right direction"

There were no reservations in her mind in this war as there were in the First World War Then she had supported the cause of the Allies although none of them recognized women as full citizens. That rankling situation was now a thing of the past Stripped of all its side issues, this was a war between irreconcilable ways of living, and it had to be fought to a conclusion Her primary test of a social system was its attitude toward women It was Russia's attitude

toward women which differentiated Stalin's government from that of the Axis countries for her

There were times when the test did not work, as for instance when Russia made a pact with Hitler and proceeded to attack Finland! Like other Americans she was deeply moved by that unequal struggle. She went on the Committee to Aid Finland and did what she could for the heroic little country. After that phase of the war was over, in gratitude for her sympathy the women of Finland asked their government to bestow the decoration of the White Rose of Finland upon her, and the Finnish Consul General in New York went to see her about it. Accepting this token of appreciation from women with whom she had had friendly ties extending over many years, gave her great pleasure. But by the time the decoration reached this country and a date had been set for its bestowal, Finland had made a pact with Germany and declared war on Russia, while Russia had become our ally in war on Germany!

In view of this complex situation, one of her friends went to see Mrs. Catt and as tactfully as she could convey the thought that this was not just the best time for her to be receiving a decoration from Finland! Mrs. Catt retorted that she didn't care whether it was or not. Finland was between the devil and the deep sea, she had accepted the decoration and she was not going to back out! Then she invited a sizable party to her house for the ceremony, hoping that enough of them would come to make a respectable showing. They all came, and the Consul General, a gigantic and courtly gentleman by the name of Vaheivuori, presented the decoration and a good time was had by all.

During the black year of 1942, when Japan was sweeping the Americans out of the Philippines and the British out of Singapore, and we were wondering how long the Russians could stand off the Germans in Eastern Europe, Mrs. Catt exhibited a stout fortitude.

Then in 1943, the tide began to turn and her mind went forward to the peace which was to follow the vast destruction of civilization. There came to her at this time one of the most healing and comforting revelations of her life. She was made aware that the years of





MRS F LOUIS SLADE AND MRS CATT

On the occasion of  
Mrs Catt's 80th birthday luncheon  
1939

*Herald Tribune*



MRS CATT IN HER LIBRARY, NEW ROCHELLE

patient, unremitting educational work carried on by the national women's organizations in the Cause and Cure of War in cooperation with other liberal forces were bearing fruit now in the hour of greatest need. It was a very different public opinion in America which was manifesting itself as this war wore on from the ill informed and unready public opinion at the end of the First World War. From all sides was rising the demand on Congress that America be pledged while we were still fighting to cooperate with other nations in establishing and enforcing a just and permanent peace. And then the miracle happened, the United States Senate reversed its action of twenty-four years before, and voted by an overwhelming majority to carry out the people's will. Gone forever was the illusion that a great people any longer can live and die to itself.

On January 9th, 1944, Mrs. Catt reached the age of eighty-five years. While it cannot be said that her eye was not dim nor her natural force abated, nevertheless she went through a public celebration of the anniversary with remarkable stamina. In the course of the day she made a speech over the radio, appeared with Mrs. Roosevelt before a battery of newsreel cameras, and made another speech at the luncheon sponsored by the Women's Action Committee for Victory and Lasting Peace, successor organization to the Cause and Cure of War. Mrs. Roosevelt and Helen Hayes spoke with Mrs. Catt over the radio and again at the luncheon. Helen Hayes at the moment was starring in the popular play, "Harriet," on the life of Harriet Beecher Stowe. With fine dramatic instinct she selected and read part of Mrs. Catt's historic address to Congress in 1917, demanding submission of the woman suffrage amendment.

Mrs. Catt spent the winter of 1944 in her home in New Rochelle in comparatively good health, her mind intensely preoccupied with the war and what was to follow it. It was her hope that the ruling powers of the world had learned from the experiences of the past twenty years that new remedies must be tried for ancient evils, but nobody realized more than she the fatal drag and undertow of tradition.

It was in the solitary night watches that she suffered—lying awake in the dark because her eyes could no longer stand the strain of night reading. Then it was that she felt the full implication of the convulsion that was rending mankind. The world she had known was sinking into the abyss, and the new world rising to take its place “was without form and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep.” She had hoped that with the release of the full capacities of womanhood the democratic way of life might cleanse itself of its evils, banish war and create a world society “with liberty and justice for all.” There had been a chance for it at the close of the First World War, but it was lost. Would the second chance be seized after the Second World War?

And if not, what then? All her life she had viewed human history against the tremendous background of cosmic evolution. She knew that regardless of how it turned out, this war was not the end of man’s saga. It had taken him perhaps a million years to climb to his present level, but the pace was quickening. In her lifetime she had seen more changes in social living and thinking than had taken place in all the preceding ages. She had given everything she had to that setting free of the maternal spirit which was the profoundest social movement of her time—perhaps of any time. She believed there was something elemental in the rise of great women to prominence in all the nations now fighting for freedom. In the darkest days this world has ever seen, knowing that her work was done, it comforted her to reflect upon the new and benignant power free women were carrying forward into the future.

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